RELATIONSHIPS OF GEOPOLITICAL, ETHNIC, AND MORAL IDENTITY PROFILES ON NARCISSISM, ALTRUISM, AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY: A LATENT PROFILE ANALYSIS

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family and friends. Especially to my Mom, Jacki; my Grandmother, Laura; and my Aunt Jo and Uncle Glen for your much needed support and encouragement these past few years. I am also especially grateful for my friends Dana and Mary for growing with me across vast distances, and understanding this long process.

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ABSTRACT

The social contexts in which we develop and participate play a significant role in shaping our ideologies, the attitudes we hold toward others, and how we view ourselves in relation to society. Extensive research illustrates that various identity domains can shape political ideology. However, little psychological research has taken a person-centered approach toward integrating domains of identity toward understanding their combined impact on outcomes and ideologies in relationship to others within geopolitical groups (e.g., groups within a community, local, or global level). As the developmental stage of emerging adulthood within the United States presents a unique intersection of both highly salient identity work, and a phase of life legally defined by new roles as political agents within the U.S., this population was chosen as the focus of this study. Using an online sample of 970 emerging adults across the U.S., the aims of this research were a) to uncover profiles of identification across several domains of identity through latent profile analysis, and b) to measure the relationships among those latent identity profiles to the civic and social outcome measures of narcissism, altruism, and political ideology. Five distinct latent profiles emerged; labeled for dominant identity domains, they include High Achievers, Moderate Achievers, Moral Civic Explorers, Moral Nationals, and Civic Nationals. These profiles were significantly differentiated across all outcome measures of narcissism, altruism, and political ideologies, suggesting that membership in such profiles is related to social and civic attitudes and behaviors. Theoretical implications of these findings include an increased understanding of how identity domains may be integrated and how these influence attitudes and behaviors in relating self and society. Practical applications of these findings may include better informed strategies toward conflict resolution, public education on social issues, and political campaign strategy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Emerging adulthood, for many in the United States and other developed nations, is a period of life in which one is focused on identity formation. This stage occurs between the ages of 18-25 years, roughly; though it is better defined by the stage-related experiences of the individual than a set age-related time frame (Arnett, 2000, 2001). Emerging adulthood is also a time of shifting social roles, moving from parents' homes to one's own dwelling, changing careers or enrolling in tertiary education, and often exploring new facets of what it means to be a citizen in our democracy. Our individual roles as citizens impact the nature of our democracy as our self-concepts drive the decisions that we make in order to shape the world we wish to see and the lives we wish to live.

Just as our environments shape us, our citizenship shapes how we interact with our political environments. While citizenship within a local, national, and global geopolitical context may be a matter of fact, how much we identify with each layer of these social roles along with our attitudes and beliefs about our responsibilities within these roles will vary from person to person. The strength of identification impacts how influential each facet of identity is in shaping our everyday lives.

We live in a complex world composed of complex and overlapping societies and groups; and we construct identities that may overlap one another or exist in strikingly separate contexts. Domains making up our identities may be related to experience and concepts that are universal to humanity, or a combination of experiences that are unique to a single individual. How we choose to cultivate the mosaic of our complete identity over a lifetime is certainly stable in some ways, as an individual may consistently identify with a gender, an ethnicity, or as a citizen of a certain nation, but that an individual will always identify with each of these is certainly not a given. For example, developmental, biological, and societal factors may cause an individual to feel

discomfort with a gender ascribed to them, or to recognize a fluidity in the social construction of ethnic groups, or to relocate to a new nation and take up citizenship there, relinquishing citizenship from his or her home nation.

Identity development is best considered a lifelong process as we are constantly adjusting and reconsidering our self-concepts. We might identify with fellow citizens and hold pride in the progress of our nation one day, and through societal and intrapersonal changes, have no such sense of identity the next. There is no end goal or result of identity development to the extent that there is no end goal or result in biological processes of development. The process carries on throughout the lifespan. However, stages of development can be considered snapshots in time, distinguishing categorically unique experiences along the lifespan and allowing us to observe and measure experience. Through this lens, we can examine how a stage of development is characterized and how these characteristics relate to the ways an individual interacts with the environment and others within it. How we interact with others is shaped, in part, by the developmental stage we are in.

The effects of group membership on our civic and political actions depend on identity strength and these group memberships are intersectional with one another (e.g., Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009; Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010; Yates & Youniss, 1999; Youniss & Yates, 1999.). How we identify as citizens of a nation is affected by how we identify as members of other social groups within the national context (Amiot, De la Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007). We have different relationships with our local communities, and may prioritize identity at a certain level (e.g., local, national, global) or may integrate all concepts of identity within a hybrid or multicultural identity. While a rich body of literature exists investigating bicultural, intersectional, and multicultural identity profiles (e.g., Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Bregman, Malik, Page, Makynen, & Lindahl, 2013; Stevenson, 1998) such studies tend to focus on profiles

and patterns of identity within a domain (e.g., cultural, ethnic, racial, gender, or sexual identities) and the correlates of such profiles. Other bodies of research have integrated identity across domains through investigating multiple ethnic, racial, or cultural identities (e.g., Benet-Martínez, & Haritatos, 2005; Poston, 1990), ethnic and national identity (e.g., Eriksen, 2001; Sabatier, 2008), personal and cultural identities (e.g., Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Weisskirch, 2008), and sexual, gender, and ethnic identities (e.g., Chung & Katayama, 1998), though few studies have researched identity profiles across several domains of identity.

Globalization through the progressive interconnectedness of global economies, cultures, and populations may impact the interaction of multiple identity domains, especially geopolitical identities (e.g., local community/civic identity, national identity, and global identity) and those affected by policy and intergroup relations (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). It is a growing concern that, as we experience increasingly multicultural societies, ideological differences are made more salient, and may lead to negative outcomes at the individual and societal levels. Ideological differences can lead to prejudice, discrimination, systemic injustice, and physical violence. Our social context plays a large role in our ideologies and the attitudes we hold about how we view ourselves in relation to society.

Extensive research illustrates that individual identity domains can shape political ideology as well (e.g., Huddy & Khatib, 2007; Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009; Pye, 1961). However, little research has investigated how integrated identity domain profiles relate to prosocial or antisocial outcomes. Integrating domains of identity is necessary, as salient identities do not influence attitudes and behaviors in isolation from, but rather in tandem with other salient identities available to the individual (Nash, 2008).

Theoretically linked, moral identity, ethnic identity, and geopolitical identities (e.g., civic, national, and global) all come together to form a mosaic of influence in how we view

ourselves in relation to broader society, which may influence our political self-concepts and our civic and political actions. By identifying identity profiles, political behavior may be more easily predicted and positive societal and individual outcomes may be fostered.

As the developmental stage of emerging adulthood presents a unique intersection of both highly salient identity work, and a phase of life legally defined by new roles as a political entity in the United States, a population of emerging adults is the focus of this research. Using an online sample of emerging adults in the United States, my aim through this dissertation is to a) through latent profile analysis, uncover profiles of identity domain prioritization patterns, and b) measure the relationships among identity domain profiles with narcissism, altruism, and political ideology.

Theoretical Framework

This dissertation is centered on the theoretical frameworks of emerging adulthood, theories of individual ego identity development, social identity theory, and self-determination theory. First in this section, I will discuss the theory of emerging adulthood, which defines a population of particular interest when researching identity work. The theory of emerging adulthood situates adults in the age group of approximately 18 to 29 years (and sometimes up to age 35) in a developmental period defined by a sense of feeling "in-between" adolescence and adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006). This stage features elements similar to an extended adolescence, through which individuals are able to further explore identities and possible selves, vocations, relationships, and other aspects of the self-concept, but are still responsible for some of the traditional experiences of adulthood (Arnett, 2007).

Next, I will discuss ego identity, which is situated within the progression of research from Erikson's (1964, 1968) influential writings to Marcia's (1966, 1988) identity status paradigm, and finally incorporating Schwartz and colleagues' (2001) extension of the two-process model of

identity development to a four-process model. While these theories of identity describe the processes and outcomes of one's sense of self as an individual, social identity theory situates one's sense of self within a group context.

Tajfel (1974) theorized that belonging to social groups provides us with a sense of pride and self-esteem, and that a feeling of belonging within these groups allows us to define our identities, at least in part, as a group member. Such identification with the group fosters positive valuations of the group, which in turn benefit the individual, however, it also leads to a tendency to denigrate outgroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This ingroup favoritism is the theoretical foundation of intergroup conflict (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979). We have, however, many options available to us for group identities. Some may be prescribed for us by birth or society (e.g., racial and ethnic groups, socioeconomic groups, geopolitical identities), while others are more influenced by individual differences, personal choice, or cultural influence (e.g., religious identity, athletic identity, or vocational identity).

Furthermore, some identities become, at least ostensibly, less rigid as a function of societal change. For example, while evidence exists to suggest that gender has never been entirely rigid for every member of society, changes within cultures have led to stricter or more lenient social expectations in gender expression at various points in history, and innovations in technology and increases in wealth within societies have led to an increased ability to travel, conduct business outside of one's home region, and even relocate. Due to these societal changes, identities such as religious identity and citizenship become less prescribed and more influenced by personal circumstances or choice. These choices, coupled with more opportunity for questioning and exploring identity options, invite us to actively construct identity. How and why we choose the identity content we choose might be explained through understanding our motivations for fulfilling common human needs. Self-determination theory, discussed next in

this section, posits that identity exploration (along with other psychological developmental tasks) are driven by motivations to fill basic human needs experienced by us all.

In exploring the motivations behind how and why we seek out and select identity content, I will discuss self-determination theory (SDT). The main tenets of SDT are that we are motivated to act by common needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness, and that all psychological developmental work, including identity work, stems from a drive to fulfill these needs, and that fulfillment of these needs leads to positive well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2000, 2003). That individuals, according to SDT, are naturally motivated to dedicate time and energy to identity exploration (Ryan & Deci, 2003), supports a foundational assumption of the theory of emerging adulthood; that as societal circumstances afford further time for identity exploration, individuals experience a greater period of moratorium, or identity exploration prior to identity commitment (e.g., Arnett, 2004, 2006, 2014), further explored next in this chapter.

Literature Review

Emerging Adulthood

Arnett (2000, 2002, 2004) coined the term emerging adulthood, but he was not the first to identify that the transition from adolescence to adulthood centered heavily on identity development. Erikson wrote a great deal about this transition and the social environment that fosters a prolonged stage of identity development. It was Erikson (1963) who first discussed what he called a psychosocial moratorium—a period of active exploration and trials of identity, particularly in the domains of love, work, and ideology. Political ideologies are contained within this ideological component of identity (Erikson, 1968).

As the reliance on manual labor and agricultural economies has been replaced by the need for more technologically skilled workers, there has been an elongation in the period between the end of adolescence and the adoption of stable adult roles (Arnett, 1998; Côté, 2000).

Based on ethnographic interviews as well as survey data from people in their late teens and twenties from post-industrial nations, Arnett (1998) characterized this period as an "in between" stage, in which individuals are no longer adolescents, but have not yet entered into stable roles traditionally ascribed to adult members of their culture, such as obtaining financial independence from their parents or beginning a nuclear family of their own. This period of life, present among individuals aged 18 to 29 years in most Western societies, has been termed emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000, 2002). Since the year 2000, in which Arnett proposed his theory of this new life stage, there has been a great deal of research seeking to both support and challenge these claims.

Emerging adults are no longer adolescents; they are legal adults between the ages of 18 to 29, but they have not yet settled into roles that are traditionally associated with adulthood in their culture, such as marriage, having children, and achieving financial independence or settling into a permanent career position (Arnett, 1998; Côté, 2000). The options in career roles now available in knowledge societies are expansive. The choices available feed into a moratorium period as young people take more time to consider a myriad of potential factors in deciding on a career path, often times changing college majors throughout their academic career (Côté & Allahar, 1996). These changes allow for emerging adults to contemplate the options available before committing to roles or ideas about the self not only in the arena of professional careers, but also in regards to personal beliefs, philosophies, and self-concepts; options for which have also have become more diverse as far as what is socially available and acceptable over the past several decades (Schwartz et al., 2005).

Key features of emerging adulthood. Arnett (2004) has outlined five defining features of the new life stage of emerging adulthood. The first key feature is that emerging adulthood is an age of *identity exploration*; emerging adults continue the processes from adolescence in defining a sense of self through exploring ideologies, relationships, and work possibilities.

Emerging adults today move around more than previous generations, seeking geographical locations further from their family homes for work and college, and moving around for the purposes of self-exploration as well (Arnett, 1998, 2000). While exploring potential job opportunities, seeking fulfillment in meaningful work, and shifting between home and college and back again, emerging adulthood is also defined by a *sense of instability*, which is the second feature outlined by Arnett (2004). However, through this sense of instability, Arnett describes emerging adults as ultimately optimistic, and they often define this unstable time as a *time of possibility* as well, which is the third key feature of emerging adulthood. The fourth feature is *self-focus*, which makes intuitive sense within the context of a life stage in which individuals are tasked with forming an individual ego identity as well as a social and historical context that prizes independence and individuality. Because emerging adults tend to postpone marriage longer than previous generations, and are not immediately tied down to permanent careers or even geographical locales, they are less burdened by responsibilities and obligations that would impede the ability to spend time focusing on the self (Arnett, 2004). Emerging adults are often still in the process of exploring their identities, lead unstable lives, and are free to consider a wide array of possibilities in life paths but not yet anchored to nuclear families of their own, the fifth feature of emerging adulthood is *feeling in-between*.

Agency and individualization in emerging adults. The roles available to emerging adults are a great deal more varied today than in any previous generation; not only are roles more varied in career options, but also the nature of romantic relationships, and what worldviews are acceptable have shifted dramatically in the past few decades as well (Côté & Levine, 2014). With more available options in roles, and far fewer social-structure limitations dictating which roles are appropriate, emerging adults today may feel environmental pressure to be more involved and deliberate in considering and choosing pathways to follow as adults (Bauman,

2013). This may take up a great deal of time and resources as one explicitly undergoes the task of exploring potential adult roles and possible selves, which may require an increase in agency and individualization to navigate successfully (Côté & Levine, 2014).

Individualization is the response to an increasingly individualistic society, in which an individual has an increased autonomy and choice and deciding his or her life course (Beck, Bonss, & Lau, 2003). Building on this definition, Côté (2000) outlines two forms of individualization in postmodern society: default individualization, and developmental individualization. Default individualization is characterized by a resignation to life circumstances, and life course decisions being made on impulse, while developmental individualization involves deliberate growth in the form of deliberation and reevaluation of life course choices (Côté, 2000). Those adopting a default individualization process are not concerned with self-improvement, while it is important to those adopting a developmental individualization process. According to Côté (2000), these self-improvement opportunities come in the form of acquiring job skills, improving competency in desired skills, and gaining and maintaining social status credentials. Furthermore, Côté argues that the demand for agency in the processes of developmental individualization may prepare emerging adults for the developmental task of navigating choices and deciding on adult roles in this transition period.

Schwartz, Côté, and Arnett (2005) found empirical support for the role of agency in the two individualization processes of identity in a study among ethnically diverse emerging adult participants. Comparing a sample of non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic participants, Schwartz and colleagues (2005) found that there were no differences in identity and agency across the three groups. Results of a cluster analysis supported their hypothesis that agency is associated with default and developmental forms of individualization. Agency was positively related to indices mapping onto a developmental individualization process of identity,

including exploration, flexible commitment, and deliberate choice making, and was negatively related to avoidance and lacking direction, indices mapping onto the definition of default individualization (Schwartz et al., 2005). While both groups, those adopting a default and or developmental individualization process, exhibited an exploration of identity, the developmental group was more structured and deliberate in their exploration. The authors posit that those on a developmental path of individualization have a greater commitment to goals, values and beliefs, and that this greater commitment serves to anchor emerging adults and counteract negative implications of a reduced or absent sense of collective societal support during this transition period.

Understanding that culture is a major informant in the identity development of adolescents and emerging adults, several scholars have written about how these cultural landscapes come to shape identity. In the next section, I will discuss three related perspectives that aim to understand how social structure and change in society shape identity development. Emerging adulthood is a period of identity development and exploration. Emerging adults are occupied with the tasks of exploring life goals and developing an identity within the context of uncertainty and instability (Arnett, 2004; Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006). This is a time of socialization and learning to self-regulate (Arnett, 2007; Walker & Iverson, 2016) which ultimately results in assuming adult roles and responsibilities. Political or civic engagement roles, while possible in younger stages, become a full reality and responsibility during this life stage.

Walker and Iverson (2016) frame identity development as an interaction with self-concept through the framework of self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000), which posits that internalizing a value and integrating it into a sense of self is important for developing a self-regulatory style compatible with the desired behavioral or social outcome.

Motivation is also an important component of regulating behavior; extrinsic motivation occurs to achieve an external reward or outcome, while intrinsic motivation occurs when that action or behavior is valued internally or found to be inherently satisfying to the individual (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Intrinsic motivation is associated with greater efficacy (a belief in one's ability to make choices that directly guide life's outcomes), an enhanced sense of subjective well-being, better social and emotional integration into one's social groups, and increased satisfactory experiences in the resolution of identity and intimacy (Deci, Eghrari, Patrick, & Leone, 1994; Deci & Ryan, 2008; Hope, Milyavskaya, Holding, & Koestner, 2014).

Recently, Cramer's (2017) investigation of the longitudinal development of identity statuses in emerging adulthood revealed evidence that from the ages of 18 through 35 there was still a great deal of developmental change in identity progression. Consistent with previous research illustrating that many students at the end of high school were categorized as achieved (e.g., Waterman, 1982), there was only a modest increase in achieved identity from 18 to 35. By age 35, achievement was the most common identity status, followed by moratorium, diffuse, and foreclosure in that order, which echoes results of previous studies on college student identity (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2005). Moratorium overall decreased among the sample, however, Cramer indicates that there was a significant amount of variability in the degree to which individuals decreased in moratorium scores (Cramer, 2017). Change in diffused identity scores were mixed, with some individuals increasing in diffuse identity, while others decreased. Understanding overall identity statuses in relation to the patterns of statuses in different domains may help account for such individual differences.

Having outlined the stage of emerging adulthood as an optimal developmental period for studying identity content and structures, the next section will explore the theoretical framework

of the processes of identity development from conceptual beginnings, to identity status models, to the contemporary identity process models.

Ego Identity

Identity versus role confusion. The fifth stage of Erikson's developmental crises, typically initiated in adolescence, tasks the individual with developing a coherent sense of self (Erikson, 1963). This fifth stage is that of identity versus role confusion. Achievement, or successful resolution of the identity crisis, involves maintaining a sense of "self-sameness", or continuity of self over time and across contexts (Erikson, 1956). In Erikson's view, the previous four stages work to inform and foreshadow how the crisis of identity is played out in the individual. The psychosocial perspective frames this stage as occurring primarily during adolescence and resolving in young adulthood (Erikson, 1963). However, throughout much of Erikson's work on identity development he conceded that the process was revisited throughout the lifespan, and he even highlighted that the identity crisis may be heightened by social and political environments in young adulthood. These lifespan perspectives of the identity crisis are reflected in Arnett's (2000) theory on emerging adulthood, discussed earlier in this chapter.

Implications of psychosocial development in identity research. Erikson (1963) believed that the crisis of identity was central throughout the lifespan, and that the impacts of each previous stage of development remain and continuously inform identity development as individuals work to maintain a continuity in identity across time.

In Erikson's (1963) theory, the task of identity development is viewed as central throughout the lifespan. It is constantly revisited during one's life, shaping past experiences as individuals aim to integrate historical context into their sense of self during adolescence, and informing the perception and integration of future experiences (Erikson, 1968; Waterman, 1982).

The psychosocial theory of development presents a useful lens through which to research and interpret identity development, and particularly political identity development, as Erikson (1963, 1968) situates these developmental tasks within a social and often political context. This theory introduces useful concepts in understanding identity development as both an overall individual process (ego identity), and in various specific social and personal domains (e.g., ethnic identity, political identity, and moral identity). Such concepts include psychosocial moratorium and degrees of commitment in identity formation (Erikson, 1968), which have provided a framework for later researchers in conceptualizing these processes within specific statuses (Marcia, 1988); these statuses are discussed in the next section.

Statuses of identity development. Erikson's (1963, 1968) work on identity development produced a large body of research, but not before having been criticized for being largely theoretical, offering few operationalized concepts for study (Côté, 1993). Marcia (1966, 1988) is credited with the operationalization of ego-identity development within Erikson's framework, incorporating the processes of exploration and commitment into four distinct statuses of ego-identity development.

The four statuses, outlined below, are informed by individual variations in 1) exploration, characterized by active engagement in the contemplation, performance, or consideration of possible identity alternatives, which Erikson (1963) referred to as crisis, and 2) a sense of identity commitment, in which an individual feels a sense of investment in or integration with one or more of these identity alternatives (Marcia, 1966).

A high level of exploration leading to a high level of commitment results in an achieved identity status, whereas foreclosed identity results in high commitment without a period of exploration preceding it. A lack of commitment in identity results in a diffused status of identity

if no exploration has taken place, or characterizes a status of moratorium if the individual is actively engaged in identity exploration (Marcia, 1966).

Outcomes associated with identity statuses. Marcia's (1966) four identity statuses are associated with different positive and negative psychosocial outcomes. Those classified as being in the achieved status typically report higher levels of self-esteem, an internal locus of control, and are described as strong, adaptive, and goal-oriented (Waterman, 1992). A study of 99 American college student emerging adults found that identity achieved participants made decisions in a more rational and systematic way than other participants (Bluestein, Furner, & Phillips, 1990). Bennion and Adams (1986) found that identity achieved adults reported higher levels of intimacy in interpersonal relationships, and Cramer (2000) reported that these individuals tend to use significantly fewer defense mechanisms compared to foreclosed or diffused individuals, but interestingly the difference between achieved and moratorium status individuals was not significantly different. Because defense mechanisms include certain factors in the measure of narcissism, this may have implications for narcissism levels among emerging adults, which will be discussed in further detail later in this literature review.

A moratorium status, characterized by a period of exploration but not commitment, is associated with adaptability and flexible worldviews. Participants in a moratorium status score almost as highly on measures of intimacy, social satisfaction, and civic engagement as do identity achieved individuals (Hardy & Kisling, 2006). Not surprisingly, those in a moratorium state are more experientially driven than those in other states of identity development and seek out experiences as information for the purpose of exploring and reevaluating their identities (Berzonsky, 1992; Stephen, Fraser, & Marcia, 1992).

Foreclosure is characterized as a status in which individuals have a high sense of commitment to an identity, but this commitment was not preceded by periods of exploration

(Marcia, 1966). Individuals belonging to this identity status report relatively low levels of openness to experience and tend to have an external locus of control (Clancy & Dollinger, 1993). They enjoy conformity and authoritarianism, are less flexible in their thought processes, report low levels of anxiety, and are much less likely to use illicit drugs than non-foreclosed individuals (Bennion & Adams, 1986; Boyes & Chandler, 1992; Cramer, 2000; Jones & Hartmann, 1988; Marcia, 1966). They tend to be more future-oriented (Willemsen & Waterman, 1991) and rely on social and public opinion in decision-making to a greater extent compared with individuals in other identity status categories (Bluestein et al., 1990).

Individuals categorized into an identity diffusion status have low levels of exploration and low levels of commitment, and do not seem to take much interest in the idea of identity or the task of defining themselves as individuals or members of groups (Marcia, 1966). They are more socially withdrawn, less assertive, and less goal-oriented (Berzonsky, Rice, & Neimeyer, 1990). They also may be more susceptible to peer-pressure (Adams et al., 1984), may be more neurotic (Clancy & Dollinger, 1993), and are the most at risk for using illicit drugs (Jones & Hartmann, 1988). They may experience a greater level of dysfunction in coping strategies such as increased levels of procrastination and avoidance behavior (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2000; Berzonsky, Nurmi, Kinney, & Tammi, 1999).

While these theories of individual ego identity describe the processes and outcomes of one's sense of self as an individual, social identity theory situates one's sense of self within a group context. These group contexts are important as our social experiences shape our inner worlds to a great degree. We are self-defined by not only our individual characteristics, attitudes, and beliefs, but also by our interactions and identifications with others.

Social Identity

Social identity theory. In Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory, individuals make social comparisons focused on group membership. An individual's ingroup may provide a basis for the building up of a positive self-image. When the group suffers at the same time from low status in the society at large, the strength drawn by its members from its internal and positive social identity may come into conflict with the negative evaluations from the 'outside' whenever comparisons with the higher status groups become salient (p. 11). In this way, social identities interact with the environment based on structural factors which would position groups in a hierarchical structure or through systemic negative valuations of one group over another.

Tajfel (1979, 1981) differentiated social identity and personal (or individual) identity. A personal identity is salient when a person is in an interpersonal setting in which the interaction is based mostly on individual traits, while a social identity is salient when a person has interactions defined more by group membership than individual personal relationships (Tajfel, 1981). According to Tajfel, in settings where social identity is salient and individuals believe they are part of a stereotyped group within-group, differences are lessened and the between-group differences are exaggerated. In the case of a target belonging to a low status group, evaluations made in comparison to the out-group would be more influential and threatening. Identification with the stereotyped group as well as the domain is necessary for stereotype threat to occur.

The presence of ingroup favoritism under minimal conditions, an outcome of social identity theory, has been empirically supported through a wealth of cross-cultural research (e.g., Brewer, 1979; Brewer & Brown, 1998; Brown, 1995; Cashdan, 2001; Duckitt, 2001). Such interaction addresses contemporary issues in the political realm regarding intergroup conflict, conformity to group norms, effects of low group status and under which condition generates collective action, and factors that promote categorization of self and others to groups.

Simply belonging to a group, however, is not always seen as the totality of necessity in attitudes and behaviors relating to identity. For example, while some studies of ethnic and national identity offer support for social identity theory, some scholars in political psychology claim that the crucial ingredient in the development of outgroup hostility is an internalized identity with the ingroup, rather than simply a recognition of membership in a group (Huddy, 2001). Moreover, it is clear that not everyone identifies strongly with social groups ascribed to them, such as with one's ethnic group. Those who identify more strongly with being American, for example, tend to score low on measures of ethnic identity (Citrin & Sears, 2009). By investigating the relationships among social identities in relation to one another, researchers in the field will be better equipped in the future to understand how these identities might influence one another, how individual choice in composing one's identity and integrating identity domains influences self-concept, and how these components of identity development relate to attitudes and behaviors.

Ethnic identity. Drawing on Erikson's work, Phinney (1989) based her conceptualization of ethnic identity on the same original processes of ego identity: exploration and commitment. As with exploration of ego identity, ethnic identity exploration consists of exploring the roles and meanings characteristic of membership in one's ethnic group, and the importance they play in one's self-concept. Commitment in ethnic identity consists of forming a stable internalization of the meanings that one attaches to ethnic group membership. Utilizing these processes, individuals can be categorized into similar identity typologies as ago identity (e.g., achieved, moratorium, foreclosed, diffuse) based on their endorsement of exploration and commitment in ethnic identity.

Research has found associations between ego identity and ethnic identity. In addition, it appears that there are differences between ethnic minorities and European Americans in how ego

identity and ethnic identity are associated. Branch and colleagues (2000) examined the association between ethnic identity and ego identity among adolescents from various ethnic backgrounds. Ethnic minorities scored higher than their European American counterparts on ethnic identity, but there were no ethnic differences on ego identity. Among Latinos and Asian Americans ethnic identity was negatively associated with total diffusion scores, such that the higher one scored on ethnic identity, the less likely he was to be categorized as ego identity diffused. Thus, it appears that ethnic identity achievement may serve a central role in ego identity achievement among Latinos and Asian Americans, but not European Americans. A similar relationship was found among African American college students, who scored higher on identity achievement when also scoring higher on racial identity (Miville, Koonce, Darlington, & Whitlock, 2000). These studies support that ego identity and social group identity are associated, and more specifically, that ego identity is associated with ethnic identity differently based on ethnic group membership.

It is important to understand how identity functions across differing levels of ethnic identity and among different ethnic groups as research suggests ethnic groups experience identity-related psychosocial outcomes in different ways. St. Louis and Liem (2005) examined the association between ethnic identity and ego identity status among an ethnically diverse sample of college students. Individuals who scored as ego identity diffused scored lower on ethnic identity than did those who were classified as ego identity achieved, foreclosed, or moratorium. Ego identity was positively associated with psychosocial well-being regardless of ethnicity, but ethnic identity was associated with psychosocial well-being only among ethnic minorities. Among ethnic minority participants, ego identity moratorium was shown to be maladaptive, as it was associated with poor psychosocial adjustment. This study highlights the importance of ego identity formation for young adults' psychosocial well-being, regardless of

ethnicity and the importance of ethnic identity for ethnic minority young adults' psychosocial well-being.

Furthermore, it appears that the association between identity and psychosocial well-being varies as a function of ethnicity beyond differences in the salience of identity domains. Specifically, ego identity moratorium is viewed as one of the more adaptive and mature statuses of identity (Marcia, 1966); however, this study suggests that ego identity moratorium is maladaptive among ethnic minority young adults. St. Louis and Leim (2005) suggested that this finding may be related to the fact that ethnic minority college students are facing a new context in which their opportunities related to ego identity (e.g., job choices, personal beliefs and values) are restricted and the exploration of their identity is impeded. An alternative explanation is that personal ideologies that are derived in part from one's culture of origin can conflict in a particularly salient way when one enters college. As such, ethnic minority students in particular may be experiencing dissonance between their personal ideologies and the mainstream ideologies that they encounter in college. Thus, the association and relative importance of ego identity and ethnic identity may be particularly complex among ethnic minorities.

Ethnic identity & American identity. Membership with an ethnic group not only influences individual ego identity and identity with that social group, it also influences one's relationship with fellow citizens at national and global levels. Social identity theory literature suggests that minority group membership is expected to be particularly salient to minority group members, which means individuals within these groups are expected to attend to such social group identities instead of attending to national identity (Citrin & Sears, 2014).
However, research also presents evidence in contrast to this theorized outcome. When asked how they identified, diverse ethnic and racial U.S. participants primarily chose to identify as American and only chose their ethnic or racial group as a secondary identifier in a study by

Huddy, Sears, and Levy (2013). In an earlier study, Mexican Americans who regularly came into contact with European Americans, and therefore who are expected to have a particularly salient ethnic identity, were no more likely to hold national or ethnic identities than were Mexican Americans who did not regularly come into contact with European Americans (Gurin, Hurtado, & Peng, 1994). While this effect could be due to a high salience of group membership regardless of contact with European Americans, especially in the age of media and digital technology, this research seemingly presents some evidence that identity formation cannot be simply explained by the salience of a group membership. Uncovering relationships among identity domains can potentially help explain the circumstances in which salience may or may not be influential in identity development.

Geopolitical identities. The discussion on geopolitical identities begins with a discussion on the ways in which political and civic identities have been conceptualized. These identities heavily overlap, and the construct of civic identity is the focus of this dissertation. While political identity typically refers to identification with a political party or to ideologies, civic identity encompasses both a sense of responsibility toward geopolitical regions and actions involved in contributing to society.

Following a review of the literature on civic identity, I will discuss national identity. American national identity encompasses how connected one feels to being a citizen of the United States. This domain of identity influences how we interact with and perceive other nations as well as our communities within our nation. It can be influenced by an interaction of our moral selves and the social groups we belong to (i.e., how we might view policies on health care may be influenced by our own experiences affording health care, being a member of a traditionally marginalized group with lower access to health care, having a disability, and whether we view access to health care as a moral and legal issue).

Following national (American) identity, the concept of global identity will be outlined. Global identity refers to one's sense of connection with and responsibility to global society, or "all of humanity." The concept of global identity is born out of an awareness of increased globalization, a result of which might be that one's local and national culture may lose favor in light of exposure to new cultural features, or an acquisition of new cultural values, which may shape or be shaped by morality, and may interact with how we perceive our connection to and the values of our local or national cultures. However, global identity has been criticized as an identity of privilege, being accessible only to those who are afforded the means to travel (Furia, 2005).

The final domain of identity which is discussed in this section is that of moral identity. Built on the concept of moral ideal selves, our sense of moral identity may influence which communities we feel we are responsible to and in what ways. Morality is also tied to how we perceive the actions of political systems, how we interact ingroups and outgroups, and how we conceptualize the behaviors and beliefs of ingroups and outgroups, and is strongly tied to which political ideologies we endorse.

These identities are theoretically linked through the relationship between the self and society in ways that influence civic and political life. Civic identity influences our interactions with society through humanitarian issues of our political environments (e.g., volunteering, advocating for social change) as well as directly through the organization and policies of our governing bodies (e.g., through campaigning for candidates, running for office, voting). National identity directly relates to how we view ourselves in relation to the geopolitical nation we inhabit, including fellow citizens, leaders, and policies. Global identity and moral identity also shape how we view fellow citizens, how we act toward them, and our goals for society. In

reviewing the following literature, I aim to further tie together these identity domains, and explain how they are linked to civic identity and our political selves.

Civic identity. Researchers across all iterations of identity theory have agreed that identity develops through processes involving one's interaction with the environment (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Arnett, 2000; Berzonsky, 2003; Erikson, 1994; Marcia, 1980; Schwartz, 2001). How directly connected one feels to a community which is defined geographically and politically, including society at large, constitutes one's civic identity (Nasir & Saxe, 2003). Civic identity also incorporates an individual's identification as an influential actor who contributes to the welfare of that community or society who has rights as well as responsibilities within that geographically and politically bound context (Atkins & Hart, 2003; Yates & Youniss, 1999).

Identifying as an influential and responsible citizen involves an emotional connection and a recognition of one's rights and responsibilities in a political context (Conover & Searing, 2000). Yates and Youniss (1999) describe civic identity as a process through which individuals establish a sense of social agency, as part of a collective group of citizens, as well as a sense of moral awareness and responsibility to that political context. In this conceptualization, civic identity is built through and defined by one's experience in civic engagement; as individuals interact in civically responsible ways within the community, awareness of the social structure, policies, and needs of the community increase and a sense of responsibility and identity with one's role in that community is developed (Yates & Youniss, 1999).

Civic identity is associated with multiple contexts including the diverse communities and social settings of which citizens are a part. Within these contexts, civic identity is the sense of how an individual perceives being a citizen and a social and political actor. It is a sense of belonging to and having responsibilities for a community (Aitkins & Hart, 2003). It is the feeling of allegiance and solidarity to a political or cultural community that is formed over time (Nasir &

Saxe, 2003). Civic identity is important because a democratic society's functionality and stability depend on the individuals living in the country. A strong sense of civic identity motivates people to do such things as: assist their neighbors, volunteer, vote in local and national elections, and join the military. In addition, a strong sense of civic identity promotes reciprocity and high levels of interpersonal trust (Faison & Flanagan, 2001); it empowers political discussion, protest of social inequalities, and participation in political and civic life (Hart, Richardson, & Wilkenfeld, 2011).

Civic engagement. The inception of civic identity begins to form during adolescence through experiences within developmentally appropriate communities: schools, neighborhoods, and peer and online contexts. Participation within these contexts fosters a sense of connection and belonging to such communities. A stronger sense of belonging is likely to lead to a stronger sense of civic identity (Atkins & Hart, 2003). The concept of social agency is also important in developing a sense of civic identity in adolescence. As adolescents mature, they are more exposed to social justice issues in the world, and they are cognitively more adept at considering the implications of such issues. According to Foley and Edwards (1996) this awareness of social justice issues and engaging in action to advocate for change is important for adolescents so that they may carve out roles for themselves within society that gives them a sense of agency, allowing them to impact society, and participate in democracy, for the betterment of society. This concept is likely related to one's sense of moral identity as well as altruism, as those who are willing to advocate for social justice issues are likely to recognize the benefit to others besides themselves (Batson & Powell, 2003; Broido, 2000).

From civic engagement to identity. With increased attention being paid to the potential effects of globalization on identity, there has been an uptick in research on civic identity (Hart et al., 2011). While research of civic identity and civic engagement in emerging adults remains

lacking, many studies from diverse fields of research have investigated the influence of civic education through schools on adolescent civic identity development. Findings highlight volunteer activities during adolescence to be the most influential on civic identity development, including participation on sports teams (Coatsworth & Conroy, 2009), community service or altruistic activities (Sharp, Coatsworth, Darling, Cumsille, & Ranieri, 2007; Youniss, McLellan, Su, & Yates, 1999), and participation in arts and academic clubs (Larson, Hansen, & Moneta, 2006). However, few studies have looked at the relationships between civic identity and other domains of identity.

Civic identity represents an internalization of a sense of responsibility to one's community and is an important factor in understanding one's relationship to the community (Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009; Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010; Yates & Youniss, 1999; Youniss & Yates, 1999). The community in question when discussing civic identity is best understood as a self-defined community, as civic activities can involve a local community, or affairs of the state or national government. Definitions of civic identity within the literature have been various and often times overlap heavily with civic engagement, as opposed to framing civic identity as a distinct construct. In the literature, the term civic identity may mean one's sense of citizenship, one's actual fact of citizenship, or may be conflated with civic engagement (Flanagan, 2004). In this dissertation, I use a definition outlined by Youniss, McLellen, and Yates (1997) and Yates and Youniss (1999). Broadly, they defined civic identity as a "sense of self in relation to society," and further outline the definition to include the degree to which civic engagement is conceptualized as an integral part of one's identity.

Since few studies have researched civic identity in emerging adulthood, a good early step is to understand more about its relationships to other domains of identity, such as individual ego identity status, and ethnic identity, which have been the subject of a wealth of research in

emerging adulthood. Besides ethnic and ego identity, another form of identity which has seen an established relationship with civic identity is moral identity, as the themes guiding civic action are often overlapping with moral ideologies (Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont, & Stephens, 2003).

Discussed next is the literature on national American identity. Civic engagement and civic identity are closely tied to the concept of national American identity as well, as much of civic education and engagement in adolescence focuses on issues of national importance, such as voting and addressing social issues (Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990).

American identity. As a result of globalization, increased multiculturalism, and political contention, the theme of what it means to be an American is highly prevalent in the United States today. The notion of American identity in the United States has led to debates about who is truly "American" and what Americanness should look like regarding European homogenous beliefs and incorporating beliefs about Americanness from diverse ethnic and cultural groups in the United States (Citrin, Haas, Muste, & Reingold, 1994; Schildkraut, 2005, 2007). The literature focuses on how U.S. citizens make meaning of their citizenship, and to what extent this varies across ethnic groups and among immigrants.

Conservative commentators have vocalized concerns that national unity suffers in the face of increased diversity of language and culture. Some believe that an attachment to one's home country does not coexist with an American identity among immigrants (Huntington, 2004), or that some groups are not willing to or interested in learning English (Barker et al., 2001), and that cultural groups within the US do not adhere to the American culture of promoting individualism and self-sufficiency (Buchanan, 2006), and that these issues foster a division in the national culture (Cornelius, 2002; Schildkraut, 2005).

Several studies following these claims have found broadly that American identity is not threatened by a retention of a heritage culture, or by diverse cultural beliefs within the US

(Citrin, Lerman, Murakami, & Pearson, 2007; Hart et al., 2011; Schildkraut, 2007; Stepick, Stepick, & Labissiere, 2008). Schildkraut (2010) found that immigrants do in fact embrace American culture. Immigrants are also keen on learning English (Citrin et al., 2007), and retain their heritage languages and cultures while also integrating American cultural values, blending heritage cultural values with American individualism (Stepick et al., 2008; Stepick, Stepick, & Vanderkooy, 2011; Tran, 2010). Furthermore, immigrant youth are even more likely to be civically involved in the US than their peers (Stepick et al., 2011).

Schwartz et al. (2012), in developing a validated measure of American identity, describe the domain as an individual identity constructed from identification with a collective, in the same fashion as ethnic identity (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Theiss-Morse, 2009). Citrin and Sears (2014) found that subjective ideals of American identity depend on support for the values of equality and individualism, while other studies have illustrated that American identity relies also on a belief in the Christian God or to speak up in defense of one's country (Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990; Citrin, Wong, & Duff, 2000). Such assertions of American identity are often debated across social groups in the political discourse of the nation. Those who ascribe to the more contentious aspects of American identity (such as a belief in a Christian god) are less accepting of policies which would benefit immigrants and foster immigration in the future; such individuals are also more likely to believe that adopting American customs is a vital part of possessing an American identity (Citrin et al., 1990; Citrin et al., 2000). The effects of American identity and patriotism are mediated by an individual's subjective understanding of American identity (Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999). Understanding the relationships between American identity and civic identity, as well as with ethnic, moral, and global identity, can help illuminate in what ways American identity is related to desirable and undesirable outcomes,

psychosocial well-being, and how it may impact the present and future nature of multicultural societies in the United States.

Schildkraut (2007) describes American identity as a sense of identifying with and attachment to the US. Because European Americans have historically composed the majority culture within the US, European American values are largely considered primary values within American identity today. Devos and colleagues (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos & Heng, 2009) have outlined this concept through their conceptualization of the American=White association, or the tendency of Americans from all ethnic backgrounds to implicitly identify being American with being White. Buchanan (2006) has highlighted that the concept of Whiteness in this regard refers to an adherence to individualistic and Protestant values of early Europeans in America and not necessarily to a lighter skin tone or other phenotypic aspects of being White. Consistent with this research, European Americans tend to have a higher sense of commitment towards the US compared to other ethnic groups (Schwartz et al., 2012).

However, recent studies show the definition of American identity shifting towards promotion of civic engagement, universal rights, and diversity, rather than traditional "Whiteness" and insularity (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Schildkraut, 2008). Likely fueled by the increasing ethnic diversity in the United States since the 1960's (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012), this shift may result in new formation of American identity in ethnic minorities in the US. For example, emerging research suggests that Americans of Middle Eastern origins show levels of American identity comparable to those of European Americans (Devos & Heng, 2009; Schwartz et al., 2012).

American identity can be framed as a similar process to ethnic identity, and consistent with Phinney's (1989) conceptualization of ethnic identity, American identity has been divided into the two processes of exploration and commitment (Schwartz et al., 2012). Individuals may

first undergo a state of considering what their citizenship within the United States means (exploration), before they are able to commit to and internalize a such an identification with the national context (Schwartz et al., 2012). It is critical to note that, as a whole, American identity has been conceptualized not in opposition to ethnic identity, but rather, the development of an integrated sense of self and identity has been theorized to incorporate elements from both one's ethnic group and from the United States (Berry, 1980, 1997).

In a similar way, I seek to investigate profiles of identity in this dissertation in order to understand that ways in which American, ethnic, civic, moral and global identities are integrated, and how these influence outcomes associated with navigating a multicultural civic world.

Global identity. In light of globalization and increased migration across the globe, Banks (2004) argues that local, regional, and national identities may be insufficient self-concepts for some individuals. Individuals increasingly possess dual citizenships (Castles & Davidson, 2000), and policies at a level superordinate to nations have been implemented, as with the European Union's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), in order to benefit all of mankind, regardless of national citizenship which may further breakdown the concepts of national borders (Banks, 2008).

As individuals seek or are exposed to worldviews outside of their current culture, they may be increasingly likely to integrate those outside views into their own personal beliefs. Arnett (2002) describes this process within the framework of identity development and indicates that such individuals may become bicultural, integrating their local cultures with global worldviews. With more personal choice available, at the expense of prescribed traditional norms, identity construction is more flexible and individualized based on preference (Arnett, 2000, 2002). It is possible to be exposed to cultures vastly different than one's own, and develop an affinity for, and possibly a sense of belonging with a community of individuals one has never truly interacted

with (Liechty, 1995). Such an attachment has typically been researched in the fields of communications and adolescent development through media representations and youth attachments to media figures (Cole & Leets, 1999; Giles & Maltby, 2004; Stever, 2011). Going further than bicultural identity, Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) have argued that individuals may integrate their local and global cultures in such a way as to foster entirely new identities, which they termed hybrid identities. These hybrid identities are characterized not simply by accommodating two cultural perspectives and values systems, but in a way that leads to new practices based on the integrated cultures.

This exposure to other cultural worldviews is in part driven by the fact that the majority of people now live in urban areas (Mather, Jacobsen, & Pollard, 2015), which is especially true of emerging adults (Hugo, 2005). These urban areas are increasingly defined by an exchange of ideologies and values which are characteristic of a global economy such as independence, individual choice, and consumerism (Arnett, 2011). Additionally, through the technology boom of the past two decades, it is increasingly easy to connect with cultures outside of one's own without having to physically travel at all (Manago & Vaughn, 2015; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2011).

As emerging adulthood is a time of identity exploration, it is also marked by an openness to diverse cultural views and beliefs (Arnett, 2000, 2004, 2011). Similar to adolescent immigrants, who change value systems more frequently than their immigrant adult counterparts (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000), adolescents and emerging adults exposed to diverse cultural views through globalized contexts may also shift their value systems more frequently (Arnett, 2016). As value systems shift in the face of globalization, there is also evidence that individuals may display an increase in empathy across cultural contexts (Rifkin, 2009) which may contribute

to a benefit to society in the form of cross-cultural, macro-level solutions to systemic issues such as poverty and racism (Smith-Jackson et al., 2008).

Criticisms of global identity. One major criticism is that researchers have not come to a consensus on the definition of global identity. Global identity has also been largely criticized as a false identity, largely constructed by corporations or marketing strategists in order to conduct business in a global context or to sell products through an ideal of a global identity (Zemach-Bersin, 2009). Many have conceptualized it primarily as a consumer identity, related mainly to marketing practices and how individuals identify with companies and make decisions on purchasing products (Tu, Khare, & Zhang, 2012).

Other criticisms of global identity take a more literal and legal approach. As one cannot be legally a citizen "of the world," there is no governing body of the entire globe to grant global citizenship (Woolf, 2010). Another criticism is that the concept of global identity is too abstract and that outcomes of such an identity are likely to be too weak because of this abstraction to motivate any meaningful behavior or psychological change (Parekh, 2003, p. 12). Finally, those who recognize that global identity is largely a privileged identity, as individuals who have the means to travel have largely conceptualized as the sole possessors of global identity, claim that it is not truly an identity which develops under normal developmental circumstances (Schattle, 2012; Zemach-Bersin, 2009).

The feasibility of global identity. I assert that researching global identity is a worthwhile endeavor, as local developmental contexts become increasingly globalized. Even if global identity were the sole product of corporate marketing companies, it would still have a psychological impact and shape attitudes and behaviors of those who possess such an identity. One might argue that it is an identity solely for the privileged, but many developmental contexts are subject to similar economic influences. The life stages of adolescence and emerging

adulthood are such examples. For societies which cannot afford young people a period of lower responsibility or leisure time between youth and adulthood, these stages are not present, but it does not mean they are not worthwhile stages to understand, especially when the trajectory of many societies, largely as a result of globalization, are headed toward structures which lead to an increased period of adolescence and even emerging adulthood. In a similar way, the privileged nature of global identity is changing. While it has previously been conceptualized as an identity reserved for those with the means to travel abroad, it is now more feasible to experience practices and ideologies of other cultures without leaving one's home through the near-ubiquity of the internet and social media (Kleinrock, 2003).

A global identity likely remains largely abstract for many, however, it has increasingly become a more concrete concept since the 1960s, with the introduction of the famous images "Earthrise" and "The Blue Marble." Through these images we were able to view an actual photo of Earth for the first time. While the advances in travel and technology at the time had already set in motion the process of globalization, sociologists and historians largely credit these images with the consolidation of a global world in the minds of individuals, as marketing toward global ideals, the World Bank, and "planetary" technologies were all born out of this era of humanity (Lazier, 2011).

This visibility of the whole globe through real photographs, and ubiquitous global images in our everyday lives through such applications as Google Maps, have perhaps led to a common identity, which may work to expand individuals' reach of empathy and altruistic attitudes. Self-categorization with all humanity. Karlberg (2008) has defined global identity it as an identity characterized by an interest in the well-being of the whole of humanity, while Arnett (2011) has outlined global identity has involving the adoption of traditionally Western values, including independence, personal choice, and hedonism, as well as a "subjective sense of being a

member of a world community" (Arnett, 2002, 2015). A way that global identity has recently been conceptualized is through an individual's sense of connection with all of humanity (McFarland, Webb, & Brown, 2012; Reese, Proch, & Finn, 2015; Reese, Rosenmann, & McGarty, 2015). McFarland, Webb, and Brown (2012) have framed an "identity with all humanity" within the context of transcending ethnocentrism and valuing a connection with all human beings. Theoretically, this concept is related to the social psychology theory of self-categorization. According to Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell (1987), the highest level of the three levels of self-categorization is that of categorizing the self as part of humanity, in contrast to the intermediate social-group categorization, and the subordinate individual level.

Within the framework of self-categorization, a large body of literature has investigated one's conception of ingroups and outgroups, and various relationships based on identity with such groups. In an effort to understand how we might ameliorate the effects of outgroup derogation, researchers have looked at a common ingroup identity model, in which intergroup bias is reduced by promoting identification among two groups with one common group (Gaertner et al., 2012). Using superordinate groups, promoting a common group has fostered feelings of friendliness and even positive evaluations of others who were formerly considered outgroup members (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Validzic, 1998). Understanding the contexts in which identification with the superordinate group of "all of humanity" is possible may hold important implications both for mitigating social issues in multicultural societies as well as understanding more deeply the nature of identity integration at the individual level.

Moral Identity

Moral identity has largely been defined within the context of an individual's motivation to behave in a certain way. Hart, Atkins, and Ford (1998) present a definition of moral identity which includes a sense of self that drives an individual to "promote and protect the welfare of

others" (p. 515). It has also been defined as a state of maintaining a consistent sense of self defined by moral character (Bergman, 2003). Moral identity can also be thought of as a self-regulatory factor that drives individuals to behave in specific ways that the individual perceives to be moral based on the cultural values of the community (Blasi, 1984; Damon & Hart, 1992; Erikson, 1964). Stronger moral identity is associated with more acts of morally positive behavior (Colby & Damon, 1993).

Drawing from social identity theory (Tajfel, 1959, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Oakes, 1986), Aquino and Reed (2002) have also described moral identity through a desire to associate oneself with those who are considered moral, and centering self-concept around traits associated with moral behavior. In order to maintain a sense of consistency between individual aspirations to be moral (Festinger, 1957), an individual will adopt moral traits based on moral exemplars and incorporate such traits and behaviors into the self-concept (Aquino & Reed, 2002).

Two dimensions of moral identity outlined by Aquino and Reed (2002) are those of internalization, or the degree to which moral traits are internalized in the self-concept, and symbolization, through which an individual will perform such traits and actions to a public audience within the community. These dimensions predict moral behaviors, including volunteering and the willingness to minimize harm to others (Aquino & Reed, 2002; Reed & Aquino, 2003), mitigating the positive relationship between ingroup favoritism and outgroup hostility (Reed & Aquino, 2003).

Developmental models have demonstrated that moral identity is rooted in a concept of an ideal self (Blasi, 1984). This moral-ideal self functions as the ideal principle of action and a moral exemplar the individual strives to be like. For example, Blasi (1984) has argued that while individual's conceptions of moral exemplars can vary in content from person to person, there

exists a set of common moral traits likely to be central to most people's moral self-definitions. However, others have asserted that traits for each individual are unclear and only probabilistically related to a clear concept or category membership (Kihlstrom & Klein, 1994). Moral identity through the framework of moral ideal selves have been found to positively correlate to altruism (Hardy, Walker, Olsen, Woodbury, & Hickman, 2014), which is consistent with the theory of moral identity as a motivation to promote wellbeing and reduce harm among others.

Moral identity as internalization of moral traits. Defining moral identity as centered around traits that serve as prototypes of moral behavior are based on the phenomenon of spreading activation (Collins & Loftus, 1975). While some traits may be more central to an individual's personal conceptualization of moral behavior, by presenting individuals with traits that are commonly thought of within a shared context as moral, it activates a network of all of the other traits that individual associates with the construct of morality. This allows for a somewhat individualized measure of moral identity in that individuals will activate their own set of moral traits based on the exemplars presented. Consequently, measuring moral identity does not require understanding each individual's definition of moral behavior nor does it require a standardized set of exact constructs to compare across individuals. Rather, all that is needed to invoke and subsequently measure the importance of a person's moral identity is to activate a subset of moral traits that are linked to other moral traits that may be central to an individual's self-concept.

Erikson (1964) considered being authentic to oneself in how one behaves as another aspect of identity. This argument implies that people with a strong moral identity should strive to maintain consistency between conceptions of their moral self and their actions in the world (Blasi, 1984; Hart et al., 1998; Youniss & Yates, 1999). The definition of moral identity

proposed here implies that if the identity is deeply linked to a person's self-concept, it tends to be relatively stable over time. Like other social identities that make up a person's social self-schema, it can be activated or suppressed by contextual, situational, or even individual-differences variables. Moral identity may also assume greater or lesser importance over time as a function of socioemotional maturity and life experience (Hart et al., 1998). Nevertheless, it is presumed that the stronger is the self-importance of the moral traits that define a person's moral identity, the more likely it is that this identity will be invoked across a wide range of situations and the stronger will be its association with moral cognitions and moral behavior.

Of course, one major criticism of this method is that any specific set of traits pertaining to morality are likely culturally bound. Culture shapes what we consider to be moral, and by selecting specific traits in order to elicit a more broad and individualized conception of morality, one runs the risk of failing to do so due to cultural differences. However, while a U.S. sample is likely to be diverse, the shared cultural context of living in the same nation within the same time period is likely enough to provide similarly grounded ideas of morality.

Aquino and Reed (2002) developed and validated a measure of moral identity based on this trait-centric conceptualization of moral identity. Through a pilot study conducted on demographically diverse individuals in the United States, nine traits in particular were identified as the best exemplars of morality: caring, compassionate, fair, friendly, generous, helpful, hardworking, honest, and kind. In a subsequent study, participants were presented with a list of these nine traits and asked to rate on a five-point scale the extent to which they believed each trait necessary for someone to possess in order to be considered "moral". Each of the nine traits were endorsed as necessary significantly more than immoral and neutral stimuli, and were each included in the final measure.

Self Determination Theory

As described previously in this chapter, identity choice is a growing reality for emerging adults in a globalized world (Arnett, 2002; Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006). It is important to understand relationships among identity domains, and how individual choose to select or internalize identity may be explained by self-determination theory (SDT). Driven by psychological to define ourselves in certain ways that are individually important to use, SDT offers a theoretical framework for how and why we choose to identify in the ways we do.

With many identities available to us both through choice or prescribed for us, we are tasked with attending to those identities which we choose to prioritize. Having to choose, and prioritize identities involves an agentic action, which should be motivated by some drive. Self-determination theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2003) posits that all people are driven by universal psychological needs that, when fulfilled, promote a sense of self-worth and well-being. These psychological needs are autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2003). Autonomy speaks to an individual's need for choice and self-rule; being able to self-define through the selection of activities one wishes to be associated with, or through the choice to internalize or distance the self from an ascribed group membership. Relatedness is the sense of feeling connected to one's social environment, having close social relationships, and feeling positively valued by those in one's social environment. Competence refers to one's sense of self-efficacy ability to act skillfully in one's environment. The need of competence is primarily skills-based, but a large body of research addresses the link between competence and the related constructs of self-esteem and self-efficacy in identity development (e.g., Guay, Ratelle, Senécal, Larose, & Deschênes, 2006; Kerpelman & Mosher, 2004; Noom, Deković, & Meeus, 1999; Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins, & Seay, 1999).

The social groups ascribed to us at birth (e.g., ethnicity, nationality, community) and those which we choose to form or enter into during the lifespan, provide us an opportunity to

fulfill our needs for relatedness. Choosing personal skills, characteristics, activities, and group memberships which are more fluid, allows us to exercise autonomy in how we define our identities, and succeeding at or becoming secure in the identity domains we internalize as important individually afford us a sense of competence. The development of identity is driven by a desire to fulfill these psychological needs which are universal. However, we differ individually in social and cultural context and in individual experiences, characteristics, and preferences. This leads us to fulfill these needs in different ways, identifying among different social groups and internalizing identity domains in different ways. These different ways of internalizing identity are likely to reflect, or predict, differing worldviews, attitudes, and personality traits, though little is understood about how identity domains work in tandem in predicting such outcomes.

Social and Political Outcomes

Narcissism. Research has given evidence of an increase in narcissism in contemporary generations of emerging adults (Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008; Twenge, Miller, & Campbell, 2014). With data from 85 samples of American college students (N = 16,475) Twenge and colleagues conducted a cross-temporal meta-analysis (2008). This data had been collected at different time points between the years 1979 and 2006, and the results indicated that there was a significant increase in narcissism measured on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) scale over the years.

Further work has found a possible interaction between ethnicity and the outcomes of increased narcissism. Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, and Bushman (2008) conducted a study comparing students from California with students from 27 other universities across the United States. The results of the study indicated that perhaps students in California were different from students in other parts of the country, as the students from California, over the course of a 24-year period, showed no significant increases in narcissism, while students from

other parts of the country did exhibit an increase in narcissism over the same time. Twenge offers an explanation for these findings in that over the course of the data collection period, California university students became increasingly more likely to be of an East Asian ethnicity, compared to other parts of the country, due to the adoption of a policy in which ethnicity was not up for consideration in admissions practices. Due to the lack of emphasis on individualistic values in East Asian culture, Twenge hypothesized that the presence of students ascribing to a culturally East Asian perspective could depress the effects of increased narcissism over time. In testing Twenge's hypothesis using data that did include racial and ethnic information, Trzesniewski, Donnellan, and Robins (2008) found support for this explanation, in that Asian American students endorsed narcissistic traits significantly less than other students at their same age and historical time period.

Criticisms of these findings for increased narcissism involve methodological concerns for cross-temporal meta-analysis and the robustness of such findings. Specifically, Trzesniewski and Donnellan (2010) have voiced trepidations about the cross-temporal meta-analysis in that it relies on group means without access to individual level data, and cite a systematic lack of diligence among psychologists in general in accounting for variability in such ecological correlations, as a reason to call into question findings that narcissism has indeed increased over time among emerging adults in the United States. Standard deviations of group means in an ecological data set are typically much smaller than individual level standard deviations and this difference can alter the resulting associations significantly (Paulsen, Syed, Trzesniewski, & Donnellan, 2015).

To test the potential difference in measuring narcissism across time at an ecological rather than at an individual level, Trzesniewski and Donnellan (2010) ran both tests on the same data set. Indeed, they found that with individual level data, there were no significant increases in

narcissism or decreases in life satisfaction across time. They did, however find such differences when measuring the same variables at an ecological level (Trzesniewski & Donnellan, 2010).

Thus, it remains somewhat unclear at the present time if there is or is not a significant increase in narcissism among modern generations of emerging adults compared to past generations. Twenge and Kasser (2013), who maintain that there is a measurable and significant increase in narcissism among modern emerging adults, credit this shift with a move away from empathy and concerns for civic engagement towards values that focus on extrinsic motivations such as fame and money. An increase in these values specifically has been substantiated in previous work (Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012; Uhls & Greenfield, 2011).

Twenge (2013) also states that, while emerging adults are more accepting of others based on sex, race, and sexual orientation, these accepting attitudes are surface deep, and that emerging adults have trouble moving toward deeper, more meaningful understanding of one another. Understanding the connections to civic life and a sense of moral identity within the context of ethnic, national and global identities may help illuminate a path in which emerging adults are able to make deeper connections to these values and incorporate such exemplars into a sense of individual identity. Arnett (2013) has offered an alternative explanation of increased NPI scores among emerging adults to contrast Twenge's assertion that current emerging adults might be dubbed "generation me" (Twenge, 2009; Twenge, Campbell, & Carter, 2014; Twenge & Kasser, 2013). Arnett claims that emerging adults experiencing increased self-evaluation and unrealistic goals are not in competition with others in their cohort, and that these traits comprise an overall sense of optimism in their generation as a whole, offering the term "generation we" (Arnett, 2013). Perhaps understanding how identity profiles shape the relationships toward narcissism can help us understand the arguments on either side of the of generation "me" versus "we" debate.

Identity and narcissism. During the transition from adolescence to adulthood, research has shown that the identity development statuses are differentially related to anxiety, which is stronger in the moratorium and diffused statuses (Lillevoll, Kroger, & Martinussen, 2013; Marcia, 1980). Because some individuals may attempt to control anxiety through the use of defensive operations, these defenses are associated with the moratorium and diffused identity statuses. One such defense is narcissism. Narcissism protects the individual from underlying low self-esteem (Myers & Zeigler-Hill, 2012) and promotes self-enhancement and unrealistic ambitions (Roche, Pincus, Lukowitsky, Ménard, & Conroy, 2013). In previous work, narcissism has been found to be associated with the moratorium and diffused statuses in late adolescence (Cramer, 1995, 1998).

In a more recent examination of the individual differences in identity change by Cramer (2017), in the context of the late adolescent use of narcissism as a defense mechanism, revealed that narcissism predicted a change in foreclosure and moratorium scores. Most pronounced was the association of narcissism with a change in moratorium through which the defense mechanism of narcissism ameliorates the effects of anxiety felt due to moratorium. The findings showed that narcissism at late adolescence predicted a stability of maintaining a state of moratorium over the years; less decrease in moratorium occurred for those exhibiting narcissism in adolescence. However, change in moratorium was not related to the use of defense mechanisms. An increase in foreclosure scores was also related to narcissism.

Altruism. Just as research has examined the relationships between certain psychological characteristics, such as narcissism, and political participation and civic engagement, there is also evidence that individuals high on altruism (a specific factor of the agreeableness construct of the "Big Five" personality traits) are more likely to exhibit desirable civic and political behaviors. One example that has been researched well is that higher altruism scores are associated with a

greater likelihood to vote in a U.S. election (Blais, Labbé-St-Vincent, Jean-François, Sauger, & Van der Straeten, 2011; Fowler, 2006; Fowler & Kam, 2007). This research provides insight into how individual differences in personality traits may account for varying degrees of identification with and participation in civic and political life. Agreeableness is associated with nonpolitical volunteering (Bekkers, 2005) and one aspect of agreeableness, altruism, is associated with higher levels of turnout (Blais and St Vincent 2011; Fowler 2006).

Based on Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory, Fowler and Kam (2007) posit that altruism may be in part derived from a sense of beneficial gain in utility from affiliating with social groups, as individuals attempt to cultivate and maintain a positive self-identity by identifying with such a group and contributing "selflessly" to that group. Consistent with social identity theory Converse (1964) posits that through group membership individuals are able to understand politics, as benefits and be weighed and measured, and attitudes and beliefs may be better defined at the group level. In accordance with social identity theory it is expected that individuals make political decisions by using specific groups as a source of information in order to reduce the cognitive load and social risk of relying solely than the self as a reference point for political decisions, predicting preferences in policy and ideology (Kinder & Winter 2001), and in some cases, fostering collective action (Huddy, 2001; Huddy & Khatib, 2007).

Fowler (2007) posits that civic and political participation are based on potential perceived benefits to the self, society, and preferred social group. Fowler's (2007) research suggests that both altruism and social identity are significant drivers in political participation. He found that in some cases, those high on altruism will be more motivated to participate than those only driven by social identity factors, but only when the perceived benefit would be to all of society and not simply to one group or another. This research suggests that social identity and self-interest are insufficient toward understanding the totality of civic identity, participation, and political action

and ideology among individuals. Altruism appears to have an important role in understanding political and civic lives of individuals, and measuring identity profiles of emerging adults, who are beginning their full political lives, can contribute an understanding to the importance of altruism, its relationship to narcissism in emerging adulthood, and the identities which might differentially foster altruistic beliefs and actions.

Political ideology. Political ideology has been conceptualized as a set of organized beliefs, attitudes, or philosophical perspectives that are prevalent within a political institution and which are shared with others (Rokeach, 1968). More recently, Jost (2006) has studied political ideology within a psychological framework, defining ideology in the political realm as an "interrelated set of moral and political attitudes, that possess cognitive, affective, and motivational components" (p. 653).

While the above definitions of ideology describe the concept in the broadest of strokes, political ideology is generally conceptualized as existing along a continuum, ranging from left-wing to right-wing (or liberalism to conservatism), with either end of the continuum espousing different attitudes, beliefs, motivations, and values. One aim of this dissertation is to understand the identity profile antecedents of political ideology and the relationship to these profiles with altruism and narcissism as additional factors in political ideology.

Kerlinger (1984) has described liberalism as espousing the cultural values of equality, tolerance, support for minority rights, progressive social change, and reducing social ills through the role of government, and has described conservatism as espousing social stability, religion, morality, discipline, private property, and industry. Lakoff (1996), in examining metaphors of morality, found that those on the left view morality in terms of social responsibility and showing care and concern towards others, whereas conservatives tend to view morality in terms of self-reliance, discipline, and virtue. In terms of cognitive styles, values associated with egalitarianism

are more chronically accessible to liberals, whereas those associated with individualism are more chronically accessible to conservatives (Barker, 2005).

Moral identity, national identity, and global identity are likely to play significant roles in the endorsement of such values. However, as individuals do not conceptualize themselves within the context of one sole identity perspective, profiles of various identity domains can help explain individual differences in ideology.

Summary

The transition into adulthood is at the same time a stage focused on identity development, and a time of new roles and responsibilities relating to one's place in society. This interaction has important implications in identity development as well as important implications for the development and maintenance of a successful democratic society. Throughout the years, engagement in political activities have remained lower among emerging adults, though many emerging adults engage in civic, community-based activities. Understanding what role identity plays in one's motivations to participate civically are vital to establishing a just democracy, particularly in consideration of the growing younger generations and the mismatch in representation between emerging adults' values and policies established at the national level. Though emerging adults grow increasingly more polarized in political party affiliation, younger Democrats and Republicans tend to still agree on issues of legalized marijuana, climate change and renewable energy policies, and better access to health care and education (Gao, 2015).

Various domains of identity have been studied in adolescence and emerging adulthood. Concepts such as civic identity have mostly been studied within the context of positive youth development, and have seen fewer empirical studies of civic identity among emerging adults compared with adolescence. The individual ego identity and ethnic identity literatures have been well established among emerging adults, but have not been heavily studied in relation to other

domains of identity. Because ethnicity, morality, and the view of the self within local and global contexts interact with how individuals view their civic roles and individual rights and responsibilities, understanding how these various domains of identity interact with one another may account for differential outcomes in how individual behave in relation to and the attitudes they hold for one another.

As individuals interact with others in society, they are motivated by different views of the self in relation to others. In this dissertation, the roles of identity were investigated in relation to measures of perspectives of the self-society relationship including narcissism and altruism. Political ideology was measured as well in order to gauge how these relationships between identity profiles, narcissism, and altruism possibly relate to political attitudes and policy within the United States.

Statement of the Problem

Despite the wealth of research on identity domains individually, there are few studies which have sought to uncover the joint influences of multiple identity domains, outside of ethnic and bicultural identity, on attitudes and behaviors. Recently, scholars have begun to research identity integration between domains of identity (e.g., moral, religious, academic identities) and overall personal identity, but typically do not include multiple identity domains together with personal identity. There is little empirical research measuring the relationships between identity domains, and no study has sought to identify patterns of identity which may predict narcissistic or altruistic characteristics, or political ideology.

Influences such as globalization, multiculturalism, and increased political polarization have an impact on what it means to each of us to be a member of a group or place, especially those which are bound by both geographical and political parameters. These present-day influences have important implications for how emerging adults navigate the landscape of

identity development, view themselves, and behave toward others, especially because this stage of development is situated within the context of one's newly acquired political role as an adult citizen. Once 18 years of age in the United States, emerging adults are granted with new rights and responsibilities that remain bound by biological age in law, but which interact with one's self-concept and are thus impacted by developmental stages and processes in how these rights and responsibilities are internalized and acted upon.

In this study, I refer to national, civic, and global identities here as geopolitical identity, as has been utilized previously in the literature (Anand, 2009; Jansson, 2007; Lagerspetz, 2003) as these identities are often conceptualized as more than social and more than geographical in nature. These identities are bound both by the governing bodies that interact with the individual and individual's socio-political environment, and the local, national, or global regions that define them.

As communities become more multicultural through the processes of globalization, groups with differing ideologies come into contact with greater frequency. Combined with a potential increase in overt narcissism, which can lead to greater intergroup aggression, such encounters may lead to negative outcomes at the individual and societal levels. Without a clear understanding of how identity domains such as civic, national, and global interact with ethnic, moral, and personal identities, it can be difficult to theorize how contention within multicultural societies might be ameliorated. Civic identity has been found to relate to other constructs, such as social trust (Flanagan, 2003), and empathy (Eisenberg, 2007). These constructs are likely related to personality characteristics of narcissism and altruism, which may shape one's political ideology. Superordinate identities, such as national and global identities, may abate intergroup hostility by providing a commonality among groups (e.g., Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio,

Bachman, & Rust, 1993; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). However, it is yet unclear how such identities interact with social outcome measures as they interact with other identity domains.

The Present Study

The broad goal of this dissertation was to investigate how individual's patterns of identification with certain personal traits (i.e., moral identity and ethnic identity), geopolitical boundaries (i.e., community, nation, and globally), and overall individual ego identity status relate to altruism, narcissism, and political ideology; three constructs that were chosen for their theoretical impact to how individuals view themselves in relation to others in geopolitical contexts. In order to understand the implications of how patterns of identity domains may relate to the attitudes and beliefs of individuals regarding social and political issues, the aim of this dissertation was to 1) uncover patterns of identity across civic, national, global, ethnic, moral, and individual ego identity through latent profile analysis, and 2) to measure potential relationships between such profiles and the outcomes of narcissism, altruism, and political ideology.

Understanding how geopolitical identities present along with other forms of identity and how such patterns relate to our attitudes and beliefs about our interactions between self and society can help us understand more how people react to and experience outcomes of increasingly multicultural social structures, and may allow for the prediction of desirable and undesirable individual and social outcomes. This research may also lead to a better understanding of how we might foster positive community-self relations among emerging adults within local community, national, and global contexts.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Research Question 1: What latent profiles of geopolitical (civic, national, and global), ethnic, and moral identities (GEM identities) exist among U.S. emerging adults?

H1: It was expected that several profiles would emerge from the latent profile analysis and would be characterized by differing endorsement patterns across identity measures.

Research Question 2: Is membership in the GEM profiles revealed through the prior analysis related to measures of overall individual ego identity status?

H2a: Individuals who score higher on exploration and rumination subscales of personal identity will be more likely to be categorized into high-moral identity profiles than those who are low on exploration subscales or rumination. This is due to the theoretical understanding that, as we are motivated to view ourselves positively, a higher degree of contemplation on our identities may lead to more moral valuations of the self and a higher moral identity.

H2b: Low commitment and high rumination may be associated with profiles marked by higher global identity, as individuals may seek out connections with a broader social group (or lack of a social group) when lacking commitment to social groups at the community or national levels.

Research Question 3: Are memberships in GEM latent profiles differentially related to levels of narcissism among U.S. emerging adults?

H3a: Profiles characterized by lower social identities are expected to be more positively associated with narcissism, as such individuals may not prioritize social relationships and others outside of the self as highly, either through personality differences or through environmental and social experiential differences, as those with higher social identities.

H3b: Profiles characterized by high global identity are expected to be associated with higher narcissism. This prediction is based on the theoretical understanding that global identity is associated with societal changes relating to globalization, which is often characterized by the adoption of individualistic cultural values, and this trend is associated with higher levels of narcissism across generations.

Research Question 4: Are memberships in GEM latent profiles differentially related to levels of altruism among U.S. emerging adults?

H4a: Higher global identity is also predicted to correlate to higher altruism. As identity moves beyond boundaries of more localized groups, ingroup favoritism is expanded to a larger social group. Having favorable attitudes toward a larger body of others may lead to higher endorsement of altruistic attitudes.

H4b: Profiles characterized by high civic identity are likely to be associated with higher altruism as well. The study of civic identity has provided evidence that foundational activities of civic identity (e.g., civic engagement and service learning) lead to more prosocial attitudes and behaviors.

Research Question 5: Are memberships in GEM latent profiles differentially related to political ideologies among U.S. emerging adults?

H5: It is predicted that political ideology will be related to different identity profiles in differing ways. For example, individuals belonging to a group characterized by high national identity and high social identity may be more likely to endorse more conservative ideologies, while those ascribing to a higher sense of global identity may endorse more liberal ideologies.

CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY

Research Method

Procedures

Emerging adults within the United States were recruited through mTurk. Participants were required to be between the ages of 18 and 35 years and living in the United States at the time of the study. The study was advertised to the mTurk population and participants were paid $2.00 US for their time. The survey took about 25-30 minutes to complete on average. Several attention screeners were used, including open-ended items, to ensure the quality of data was high and to eliminate the possibility of "bots", or automated web applications, from receiving compensation for the study, as such "bots," will typically not be able to interpret correctly an open-ended question and will enter nonsense characters in the text box.

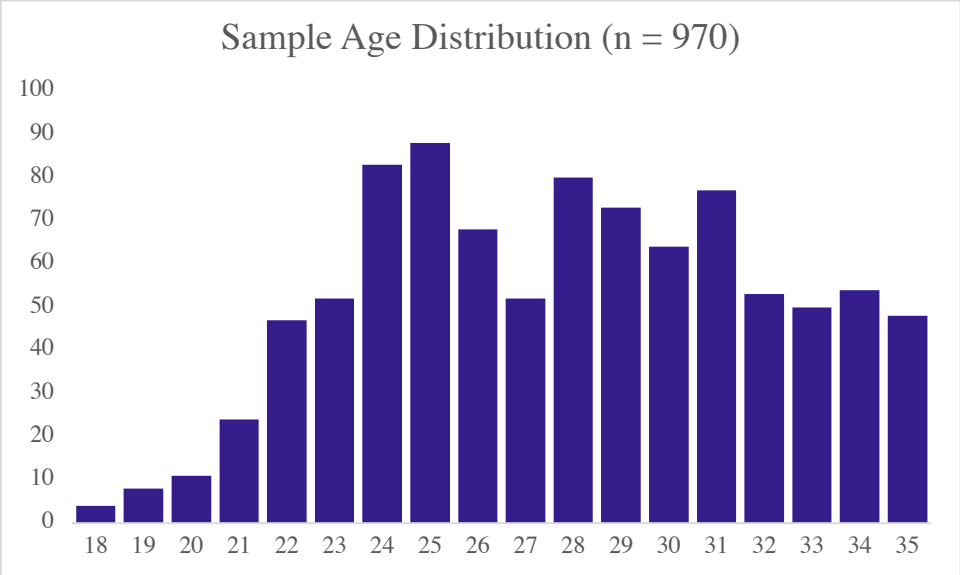
Participants

The sample initially included 1,007 total participants from across the United States. Thirty-four participants were removed from the data for failing to pass at least one of the four attention screener items in the online survey, and three were removed for excessive missing or incorrect data (e.g., missing most or all of an entire measure within the survey, producing a zip code outside of the U.S.) leaving a total sample size of n = 970 (*M* age = 28.14, *SD* = 4.30). Participants were between the ages of 18 and 35 years old and living in the United States (see Figure 1 for a full distribution of participants' ages). A little more than half were women (n = 519, 53.34%), less than half were men (n = 444, 45.63%), two identified as non-binary (0.21%), and five declined to identify (0.52%). The ethnic breakdown was as follows: Asian or Asian American participants made up 7.42% (n = 72), Black or African American participants made up 9.20% (n = 89), Hispanic or Latino made up 6.91% (n = 67), White or European American

participants made up the majority of the sample at 71.44% (n = 693), American Indian or Native American participants made up 1.34% (n = 13), and Mixed, Biracial, or Multiethnic participants made up 3.30% (n = 32), while 0.41% (n = 4) preferred not to identify.

Figure 1

Sample age distribution (N = 970).



All 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia were represented in the sample by at least one participant. The top five states participants were located in include California (n = 92, 9%), Florida (n = 82, 8%), New York (n = 68, 7%), Texas (n = 65, 7%), and Ohio (n = 50, 5%). No one state made up more than 10% of the overall sample, and participants were fairly evenly spread out throughout the nation (for a full report of participants' state of residence, see Table 1 below). Thirty-eight percent (n = 374) live in suburban environments, 32.27% (n = 313) in urban environments, 15.46% (n = 150) in small towns, and 13.40% (n = 130) in rural environments. Three participants (>1%) did not report on the population density of their residence.

In addition to asking participants about the population density of where they currently live, participants were also asked about the environments in which they grew up. The majority of participants (64.85%, n = 629) currently live in the same level of population density (e.g., rural, suburban, urban, etc.) as they did while growing up, 23.51% (n = 228) have moved to a more urban environment, and 14.30% (n = 113) have moved to a more rural environment.

Table 1
Frequency of participants' state of residence.

State	N	%	*State*	N	%	*State*	N	%
California	92	9.48%	Washington	19	1.96%	Alaska	6	0.62%
Florida	82	8.45%	Maryland	17	1.75%	Rhode Island	6	0.62%
New York	68	7.01%	Kentucky	16	1.65%	New Hampshire	6	0.62%
Texas	65	6.70%	Oregon	15	1.55%	New Mexico	5	0.52%
Ohio	50	5.15%	Nevada	15	1.55%	Nebraska	5	0.52%
Pennsylvania	41	4.23%	Alabama	13	1.34%	Kansas	5	0.52%
Michigan	40	4.12%	Colorado	13	1.34%	South Dakota	4	0.41%
New Jersey	35	3.61%	Connecticut	12	1.24%	District of Columbia	4	0.41%
Illinois	34	3.51%	Missouri	12	1.24%	Hawai‘i	3	0.31%
Georgia	30	3.09%	West Virginia	12	1.24%	Mississippi	3	0.31%
North Carolina	29	2.99%	Wisconsin	12	1.24%	Montana	2	0.21%
Virginia	28	2.89%	South Carolina	12	1.24%	North Dakota	2	0.21%
Tennessee	24	2.47%	Louisiana	10	1.03%	Maine	2	0.21%
Indiana	21	2.16%	Oklahoma	10	1.03%	Vermont	2	0.21%
Massachusetts	21	2.16%	Iowa	8	0.82%	Utah	1	0.10%
Arizona	20	2.06%	Arkansas	8	0.82%	Wyoming	1	0.10%
Minnesota	20	2.06%	Idaho	6	0.62%	Delaware	1	0.10%

Zip code data were used to determine participants' local political environment through party affiliation of elected representatives within the district indicated by that zip code. Using zip code data to identify elected representatives is not a perfect process, and many zip codes are split into multiple voting districts. While this was the case for several zip codes, the party affiliation within a zip code was split for only 11 cases (1.13%). The remainder of zip codes were either represented by one official, or by multiple officials within the same political party. Slightly more participants were represented by Democratic officials (54.95%, n = 533) than Republican officials (43.51%, n = 422), and very few were represented by officials outside of these two parties with four total individuals represented by Independent officials (<1%).

Measures

Ego Identity Dimensions. The dimensions of ego identity were measures with the Dimensions of Identity Development Scale (DIDS; Luyckx, Schwartz, Berzonsky, et al., 2008). Through 25 items, this instrument measures identification of 5 status dimensions: commitment making (CM), identification with commitment (IC), exploration in depth (ED), exploration in breadth (EB), and ruminative exploration (RE; Schwartz et al., 2011). Items are rated on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), Likert-type scale. For the present study, the alpha coefficients were as follows: CM (0.81), IC (0.74), ED (0.92), EB (0.87), and RE (0.73).

Ethnic Identity. Ethnic identity exploration and commitment/affirmation was assessed using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992), one of the most commonly used ethnic identity instruments (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM is a 12-item scale measured on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to5 (strongly agree). The MEIM is composed of 5 items worded to tap into identity exploration (e.g., ''I think a lot about how my life will be affected by being a member of my ethnic group'') and 7 to assess

identity affirmation (e.g., “I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group’’). The reliability for the MEIM exploration subscale was 0.83, and for MEIM affirmation was 0.86.

Moral Identity. Aquino and Reed’s (2002) ten-item, two-dimensional measure of moral identity was used to assess participants’ sense of moral identity on a Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Participants were presented with a list of nine characteristics (i.e., caring, compassionate, fair, friendly, generous, helpful, hardworking, honest, and kind), and asked to visualize “the kind of person who has these characteristics and imagine how that person would think, feel, and act.” After thinking about someone who possesses these traits, participants were presented with ten items, of which five items assessed the extent to which the participant experiences his or her moral identity internally as part of the self-concept, known as the internalization subscale; and the other five items assessed the extent to which a participant projects his or her moral identity to others through actions in the world, known as the symbolization subscale. Reliability of the internalization subscale was 0.81 and for the symbolization subscale reliability was 0.72.

Civic Identity. Civic Identity was assessed using three subscales developed by Johnson, DeSouza, Lerner, and Lerner (in press): exploration, commitment/resolution, and internalization/centrality. The measure is comprised of 9 items, with three items per subscale. Items are scored on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) through 5 (strongly agree), such that higher scores reflect greater levels of exploration, resolution, and centrality. Exploration in the present study had a reliability of 0.85, resolution was 0.94, and centrality was 0.74.

American Identity. The American identity scale used to measure national identity was adapted from the MEIM (MEIM-A; Schwartz et al., 2012). Similar to the original MEIM, the MEIM-A includes the two subscales of exploration and commitment. Exploration examines the

extent to which individuals have examined their identity as an American (5 items; e.g., "I have spent time trying to find out more about the United States, such as its history."). Commitment examines the extent to which individuals have a clear sense of what their American identity means and how positively they feel about that identity (7 items; e.g., "I have a clear sense of the United States and what it means to me.") Participants were asked to respond to 12 statements on a 5-point Likert scale with end-points of 1 (strongly disagree) and 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores on the MEIM-A indicated more exploration of one's American identity and a clearer and more positive sense of American identity. As with ethnic identity, the current study utilized the subscales of exploration and commitment as separate indicators of the GEM identity profiles. The MEIM-A was shown to have the same factor structure as MEIM, and this structure was equivalent across ethnic groups. Furthermore, the MEIM-A performed well on tests of reliability and validity (Schwartz et al., in press). The alpha coefficients in the current study were 0.92 and 0.79 for exploration and commitment, respectively.

Global Identity. The Identification with All Humanity (IWAH) Scale (McFarland et al., 2012) was used to measure global identity. It consists of three scales using nine three-part questions concerning social attitudes toward "my community", "Americans", and "All humans everywhere." Responses were recorded using a five-point Likert-type measurement for each of the three scales. McFarland et al. (2012) have demonstrated good reliability and predictive validity of the IWAH across ten separate studies. Global identity had a reliability of 0.77 in the present study.

Narcissism. The Narcissistic Personality Inventory - 13 (NPI-13; Gentile et al., 2013) was used to measure the construct of narcissism. The NPI-13 is a shortened, well-validated, 13-item version of the 40-item measure of trait narcissism based on the DSM-III Narcissistic

Personality Disorder criteria. Unlike the NPI-16 (an earlier shortened version of the larger NPI measure), the NPI-13 retrains three subscales of narcissism: leadership/authority, grandiose/exhibitionism, and entitlement/exploitation subscale Response format consists of a forced choice between two self-descriptive phrases, one that is an indicator of narcissistic thoughts or behaviors and one that is not. The alpha coefficients in the current study were 0.82 for the leadership/authority subscale, 0.86 for the grandiose/exhibitionism subscale, and 0.77 for the entitlement/exploitation subscale.

Altruism. Altruism was measured with the Self-Report Altruism Scale (SRAS; Rushton et al., 1981) which contains 20 items. The SRAS survey measures self-reported frequency with which participants have engaged in specific altruistic behaviors (e.g., I have donated goods to charity). Items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 = “never" and 5 = "very often." The alpha coefficient for altruism in the present study was 0.76.

Political Ideology. Addressing the lack of appropriate measures for political ideology among emerging adults, Landeau (2011) developed a 40-item Political Ideology Scale. Previous measures of political ideology either focused on measuring ideology in terms of conservatism (e.g., right-wing authoritarianism) or consisted of one item measuring from left to right how liberal or conservative an individual considers themselves to be (Carney, Jost, Gosling, & Potter 2008), or simply ask for political party. Because many emerging adults are still exploring the connotations of political party affiliation, or choosing to identify as Independent, it was determined more useful to measure ideology with this four-factor scale. Four factors contribute to the measurement of political ideology in this scale: 1) social justice; 2) "core governance issues" of the environment, healthcare, education, and gun control; 3) social issues; and 4) a neo-

conservative view of business and government. In the present study, these subscales had reliability coefficients of 0.73, 0.83, 0.78, and 0.84 respectively.

CHAPTER III: RESULTS

Preliminary analyses were conducted to investigate the normality of all study variables. All variables returned a skew of less than two and kurtosis less than seven, indicating adequate normality (West, Finch, & Curran, 1995). Descriptive statistics for all latent and outcome variables can be found in Table 2 below. See Appendix K for a table of correlations between GEM identity measures and outcome variables.

Table 2.

Descriptive Statistics for Latent and Outcome Variables.

Variable	*Mean*	*Median*	*SD*	*IQR*	*25th Percentile*	*75th Percentile*
Commitment Making	3.69	4.00	0.93	1.20	3.00	4.20
Identification with Commitment	3.62	3.80	0.94	1.20	3.00	4.20
Exploration in Breadth	3.89	4.00	0.77	1.00	3.40	4.40
Exploration in Depth	3.59	3.60	0.76	0.80	3.20	4.00
Ruminative Exploration	3.08	3.20	0.97	1.40	2.40	3.80
Civic Exploration	3.33	3.67	0.98	1.33	2.67	4.00
Civic Commitment	3.29	3.33	0.99	1.31	2.64	4.00
Civic Internalization	3.03	3.00	1.15	2.00	2.00	4.00
American Exploration	3.42	4.25	0.80	1.25	3.75	4.00
American Commitment	3.65	4.72	0.93	1.79	3.75	4.10
Global	3.19	3.22	0.81	1.11	2.67	3.78
Ethnic Searching	2.57	3.25	0.69	1.00	2.75	3.75
Ethnic Commitment	2.88	3.75	0.68	1.07	3.04	4.11
Moral Internalization	3.84	4.00	0.45	0.60	3.60	4.20
Moral Symbolism	3.17	3.20	0.92	1.20	2.60	3.80
Leadership/Authority Narcissism	1.31	1.2	0.28	0.58	1.00	1.58
Grandiose/Exhibitionism Narcissism	1.23	1.00	0.31	0.50	1.00	1.50
Entitlement/Exploitative Narcissism	1.25	1.33	0.29	0.33	1.00	1.33
Altruism	3.71	3.75	0.71	0.95	3.25	4.20
Social Justice Ideology	3.96	4.00	1.03	1.45	3.45	5.00
Social Issues Ideology	4.52	4.50	1.10	1.63	3.75	5.38
Core Issues Ideology	4.30	4.36	1.09	1.55	2.45	5.00
Neo-Conservative Views of Business and Government Ideology	3.31	3.25	1.34	2.00	2.25	4.25

Latent Profile Analysis of GEM Identities

In order to address the research question concerning what identity profiles emerged from dimensions of geopolitical (i.e., civic, national, and global), ethnic, and moral (GEM), a latent profile analysis (LPA) was performed. LPA is a person-centered analytic strategy that identifies categorical profiles that emerge from the data based on a set of continuous indicators (Muthén & Muthén, 2000). The 10 total indicators of the latent profiles were the *civic identity* subscales of a) exploration (CEXP), b) commitment (CCOM), and c) internalization (CINT); the American (national) identity subscales of d) exploration (AMEXP), and e) commitment (AMCOM); f) global identity (GLOBAL); the ethnic identity subscales of g) searching (ETHSEA), and h) commitment (ETHCOM); and the moral identity subscales of i) internalization (MORINT), and j) symbolization (MORSYM).

A series of models, with n profiles from two to 10, were specified in R using the tidyLPA statistical package. This package produces Bayesian information criterion (BIC; Schwarz, 1978), Akaike's information criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1973, 1987), the p-value for the bootstrap likelihood ratio test (BLRT; McCutcheon, 1987; McLachlan & Peel, 2000), and the entropy score. The BIC and AIC are both based on the maximum likelihood estimates of the model parameters toward selecting the model that is the best representation of the data in the most parsimonious state. The BLRT compares each K_0 class model with the K_{-1} class model. The entropy score measures how clearly defined or separated the latent profiles are within the data. A larger entropy score, approaching 1, indicates clearer distinction between profiles. A small probability value (e.g., $p < .05$) indicates that the more parsimonious model is a significantly better fit to the data compared to the class model with one additional profile.

Results based on the AIC and entropy scores indicated that a five-profile solution had the best fit. The BIC score indicated a six-profile solution would fit the data the best. Upon examining the profiles produced by the five- and six-profile models, the five-profile solution was determined to have more substantive implications for the data, and the sixth profile appeared to be a more fine-tuned breakdown of a coherent profile in the five-profile solution. Additionally, the BIC score for the five-model solution was only marginally larger than the BIC score for the six-profile solution, and, while all BLRT values were significant, the BLRT value for the five-model solution was slightly lower. For these reasons, the five-profile solution was decided on as the best representation of the data and was utilized for the analysis (see Table 3 below for all model fit statistics).

Table 3

Model fit statistics for GEM latent profile solutions.

No. of profiles	AIC	BIC	Entropy	BLRT *p* value
2	20130.537	20501.211	0.821	0.01
3	19789.271	20512.596	0.841	0.01
4	19969.767	20487.742	0.853	0.01
5	**19725.489**	20481.115	**0.856**	0.01
6	19729.658	**20480.934**	0.809	0.02
7	19885.073	20523.999	0.791	0.01
8	19856.934	20549.51	0.782	0.01
9	19747.858	20494.084	0.817	0.01
10	19726.625	20526.502	0.833	0.01

Note. Fit statistics for the best fitting model are in bold.

Comparing the within-profile means across indicators along with the between-profile means, the GEM identity profiles were interpreted and uniquely named according to their characteristics. Results suggested that there were unique GEM identity profiles and that these

profiles were complex in that specific identity domains were more salient in some profiles than in others (see Figure 2 and Table 4 below).

The first profile, labeled *High Achievers*, labeled for high levels of both exploration and commitment scales, included individuals who scored high on all measures compared to participants identified in the other four profiles. High Achievers make up approximately 10% of the sample (n = 100). This identity profile is characterized by higher scores in civic and moral identities, moderate scores in American and global identities, and low-moderate scores in ethnic identity subscales. The second profile details *Moderate Achievers* who are characterized by moderately high scores in both exploration and commitment scales across civic, American, and moral identity measures, and moderate global and ethnic identities. Moderate Achievers comprised the majority of the sample with about 48% of participants in this profile (n = 464). The third profile, making up about 15% of the sample (n = 150) are *Moral Civic Explorers*. This profile is characterized by high endorsement of civic exploration and moral internalization, but low civic commitment, civic internalization, and moral symbolism. American identity scores were moderate for this group. The fourth profile is labeled *Moral Nationals* and endorsed American and moral identities relatively highest among measures, while scoring low on civic and ethnic identities. Moral Nationals is the second most population profile with 20% of the sample (n = 191). The fifth and final group, labeled the *Civic Nationals* is also the smallest group at just under 7% (n = 65). This group scored moderately across most identity measures with higher scores on civic and American identities than other measures. Compared to Moral Nationals, Civic Nationals score higher on civic measures, and lower on moral and American measures of identity. This fifth group are the lowest overall in moral identity.

Figure 2

GEM latent profiles across measures.

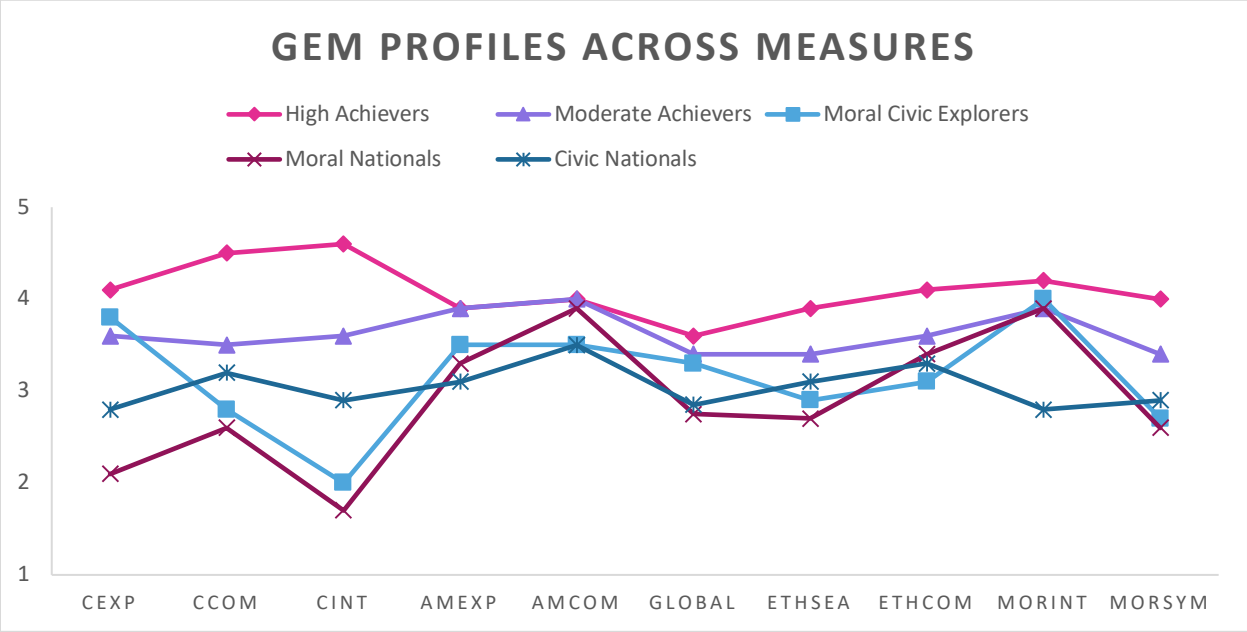


Table 4

Descriptive statistics for GEM latent profiles.

			Latent Profiles									
	Total Sample		High Achievers		Moderate Achievers		Moral Civic Explorers		Moral Nationals		Civic Nationals	
Prevalence			10.31% n = 100		47.84% n = 464		15.46% n = 150		19.69% n = 191		6.70% n = 65	
Indicators	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
CEXP	3.33	0.98	4.33	0.74	3.59	0.68	3.90	0.57	1.98	0.60	2.82	0.73
CCOM	3.29	0.99	4.58	0.50	3.48	0.78	2.78	0.95	2.64	1.02	3.11	0.63
CINT	3.03	1.15	4.69	0.43	3.61	0.57	1.89	0.54	1.70	0.58	2.88	0.74
AMEXP	3.42	0.80	3.60	0.96	3.66	0.63	3.24	0.79	3.05	0.85	2.90	0.77
AMCOM	3.65	0.93	3.80	1.11	3.84	0.78	3.28	1.00	3.57	0.97	3.16	0.89
GLOBAL	3.19	0.81	3.61	0.80	3.36	0.72	3.15	0.74	2.72	0.77	2.82	0.89
ETHSEA	2.57	0.69	3.11	0.73	2.71	0.58	2.31	0.61	2.20	0.67	2.45	0.68
ETHCOM	2.88	0.68	3.38	0.65	2.94	0.59	2.57	0.67	2.78	0.73	2.71	0.66
MORINT	3.84	0.45	4.20	0.28	3.87	0.33	3.98	0.32	3.85	0.35	2.77	0.35
MORSYM	3.17	0.92	4.05	0.82	3.37	0.74	2.76	0.89	2.65	0.94	2.94	0.80

Demographic Differences in Profile Membership

For each profile, appropriate analyses were run to test for demographic effects on profile membership. The dependent variables were the probability statistics for each individual to be classified in a given profile (e.g., High Achievers, Moral Civic Explorers, etc.), as provided by the R analysis of latent profiles. The independent variables were the levels of the demographic statistics (e.g., gender, ethnicity, political district).

Effects of ethnicity on profile membership. In testing the effect of ethnicity on profile membership, a one-way ANOVA revealed that there was a significant effect of ethnicity on profile membership for High Achievers ($F(6, 959) = 5.352, p < 0.001$). A Tukey post hoc test revelated that only two group differences were apparent. Those identifying as Latino or Hispanic were significantly more likely to be categorized as High Achievers compared to Black or African Americans ($p = .002$), and significantly less likely than Native Americans to be categorized as High Achievers ($p < .001$). No significant effects of ethnicity were found for any other profile.

Effects of political district on profile membership. An independent samples t-test was run to test for effect of political district on profile membership. The test resulted in no significant effect of political district on membership for any profile.

Effects of gender on profile membership. Gender differences emerged from independent samples t-tests. Males ($M = 0.83, M= 0.84$) were more likely than females ($M = 0.76, M = 0.68$) to belong in the High Achievers ($t = 2.14, p = 0.04$) and Moral Civic Explorers ($t = 4.06, p < .001$) profiles. No other effects of gender were observed.

Demographic Correlates of Profile Membership

The relationship between the probabilities of being categorized within each profile and continuous demographic variables were assessed using Pearson's correlations. For High

Achievers, no demographic variables were significantly correlated. The probability of membership in the Moderate Achievers profile was significantly correlated with currently living in a more urban environment ($r = 0.064, p < .10$), higher house hold income ($r = 0.124, p < .01$), and higher education ($r = 0.111, p < .01$), all with small effects. The Moral Civic Explorers profile was significantly correlated with being raised in a more rural environment ($r = -0.093, p <. 01$), lower house hold income ($r = -0.084, p < .01$), lower levels of education ($r = -0.112, p < .01$), and younger age ($r = -0.080, p < .01$). The only significant demographic variable related to Moral Nationals was age, with older participants being more likely included in this profile ($r = 0.080, p < .01$). Finally, the Civic Nationals profile was significantly correlated with being raised in a more urban environment ($r = 0.084, p < .01$) and lower house hold income ($r = -0.062, p < .05$).

GEM Profiles in Relation to Measures of Individual Ego Identity Status

Subscales from the DIDS were measured to compare across GEM identity profiles. These subscales include exploration in breadth (EB), exploration in depth (ED), ruminative exploration (RE), commitment making (CM), and identification with commitment (IC). To investigate the relationships between individual ego identity and GEM identity profiles, the correlations between these subscales and GEM identity profile probabilities were examined (see Table 5 below). Overall, these profiles were differentially related to individual ego identity subscales. The High Achievers profile was significantly correlated with higher scores all subscales, except ruminative exploration. This first profile is significantly related to higher EB ($r = 0.218, p < .01$), ED ($r = 0.306, p < .001$), CM ($r = 0.287, p < .01$), and IC ($r = 0.295, p < .01$). Membership in the Moderate Achievers profile is positively associated with higher ED ($r = 0.168, p < .01$), CM ($r = 0.107, p < .01$), and IC ($r = 0.126, p < .01$). The Moral Civic Explorers profile is significantly

associated with higher EB ($r = 0.127, p < .01$), lower ED ($r = -0.104, p < .01$), higher RE ($r = 0.140, p < .01$), and lower on both CM ($r = -0.164, p < .01$) and IC ($r = -0.171, p < .01$) commitment subscales. Membership in the Moral Nationals profiles was negatives associated with all individual ego identity subscales: EB ($r = -0.118, p < .01$), ED ($r = -0.200, p < .01$), RE ($r = -0.115, p < .01$), CM ($r = -0.060, p < .01$), and IC ($r = -0.097, p < .01$). Finally, the Civic Nationals profiles was negatively associated with all subscales except ruminative exploration, with which it did not have a significant relationship: EB ($r = -0.282, p < .01$), ED ($r = -0.184, p < .01$), CM ($r = -0.191, p < .01$), and IC ($r = -0.183, p < .01$).

To further test the differences across profiles in individual ego identity subscales, a series of one-way ANOVA tests were run with GEM profile as the categorical independent variable and scores on each subscale of the DIDS as the dependent variables. There was a significant effect of GEM profile for each subscale, and Tukey HSD post hoc analyses were performed to compare group means for significant differences. All significant differences were at or below the $p = .05$ threshold.

Effect of Profile Membership on Exploration in Breadth

There was a significant effect of profile on exploration in breadth (see Table 5 below). Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that High Achievers ($M = 4.35$, $SD = 0.78$) had a significantly higher mean EB score compared to Moderate Achievers ($M = 3.90$, $SD = 0.66$), Moral Nationals ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 0.86$), and Civic Nationals ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 0.76$). Moderate Achievers had significantly higher EB scores compared to Moral Nationals and Civic Nationals. Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 0.68$) scored higher in EB than Moral Nationals and Civic Nationals.

Table 5

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile on exploration in breadth.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	1889.21	1	1889.21	3620.23	.000		
Profile	66.49	4	16.62	31.86	.000	.12	[.08, .15]
Error	503.58	965	0.52				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 6

Descriptive statistics for exploration in breadth as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	4.35	0.78
Moderate Achievers	3.90	0.66
Moral Civic Explorers	4.11	0.68
Moral Nationals	3.71	0.86
Civic Nationals	3.19	0.76

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Exploration in Depth

For exploration in depth, a significant effect of profile was found as well (see Table 7 below). High Achievers ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 0.76$) scored significantly higher on ED compared to Moderate Achievers ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 0.64$), Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 0.77$), Moral Nationals ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 0.81$), and Civic Nationals ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 0.73$). Moderate Achievers scored higher on ED than did Moral Civic Explorers, Moral Nationals, and Civic Nationals. Moral Civic Explorers scored higher on ED than Civic Nationals.

Table 7

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile on exploration in depth.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	1725.99	1	1725.99	3367.36	.000		
Profile	69.98	4	17.50	34.13	.000	.12	[.09, .15]
Error	494.62	965	0.51				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 8

Descriptive statistics for exploration in depth as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	4.15	0.76
Moderate Achievers	3.70	0.64
Moral Civic Explorers	3.41	0.77
Moral Nationals	3.33	0.81
Civic Nationals	3.12	0.73

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Ruminative Exploration

Fewer comparisons overall were significantly different in RE across profiles. Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 0.96$) were significantly higher on RE than all other profiles (see Table 9 below. Civic Nationals scored higher in RE compared to High Achievers ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 1.25$), Moderate Achievers ($M = 3.07$, $SD = 0.89$), and Moral Nationals ($M = 2.86$, $SD = 0.98$).

Table 9

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile on ruminative exploration.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$^{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	911.44	1	911.44	1003.67	.000		
Profile	26.21	4	6.55	7.22	.000	.03	[.01, .05]
Error	876.32	965	0.91				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 10

Descriptive statistics for ruminative exploration as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	3.02	1.25
Moderate Achievers	3.07	0.89
Moral Civic Explorers	3.41	0.96
Moral Nationals	2.86	0.98
Civic Nationals	3.14	0.75

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Commitment Making

Profiles significantly differed in commitment making such that High Achievers (M = 4.33, SD = 0.86) scored higher on CM than all other profiles (see Table 11). Moderate achievers (M = 3.79, SD = 0.77) scored higher on CM compared to Moral Civic Explorers (M = 3.32, SD = 1.03) and Civic Nationals (M = 3.09, SD = 0.89). Moral Civic Explorers were higher on CM than Moral Nationals (M = 3.62, SD = 1.00), who were higher compared to Civic Nationals.

Table 12

Fixed-Effects ANOVA of GEM profile on commitment making.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	1874.89	1	1874.89	2421.96	.000		
Profile	90.72	4	22.68	29.30	.000	.11	[.08, .14]
Error	747.03	965	0.77				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 12

Descriptive statistics for commitment making as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	4.33	0.86
Moderate Achievers	3.79	0.77
Moral Civic Explorers	3.32	1.03
Moral Nationals	3.62	1.00
Civic Nationals	3.09	0.89

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Identification with Commitment

Profiles significantly differed in identification with commitment such that High Achievers (*M* = 4.28, *SD* = 0.80) scored higher compared to all other profiles (see Table 13). Moderate Achievers (*M* = 3.74, *SD* = 0.80) scored significantly higher on IC compared to Moral Civic Explorers (*M* = 3.23, *SD* = 0.97), Moral Nationals (*M* = 3.48, *SD* = 1.05), and Civic Nationals (*M* = 3.04, *SD* = 0.79). Moral Nationals scored higher on IC compared to Civic Nationals.

Table 13

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile on identification with commitment.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	1835.27	1	1835.27	2357.84	.000		
Profile	100.69	4	25.17	32.34	.000	.12	[.09, .15]
Error	751.12	965	0.78				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 14

Descriptive statistics for identification with commitment as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	4.28	0.80
Moderate Achievers	3.74	0.80
Moral Civic Explorers	3.23	0.97
Moral Nationals	3.48	1.05
Civic Nationals	3.04	0.79

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

GEM Profiles in Relation to Narcissism

Effect of Profile Membership on Leadership/Authority Subscale of Narcissism Measure

Significant effects of profile were found on the leadership authority subscale of narcissism (NLA). High Achievers ($M = 1.36$, $SD = 0.30$) scored significantly higher on NLA compared to Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 1.25$, $SD = 0.27$) and Moral Nationals ($M = 1.24$, $SD = 0.26$). Moderate Achievers ($M = 1.33$, $SD = 0.28$) scored significantly higher compared to Moral Civic Explorers, Moral Nationals, and Civic Nationals ($M = 1.43$, $SD = 0.26$). Moderate Achievers scored higher compared to Moral Civic Explorers and Civic Nationals.

Table 15

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile on the leadership/authority narcissism subscale

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{\text{partial}}\,\eta^2$	$_{\text{partial}}\,\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	185.23	1	185.23	2436.65	.000		
Profile	2.99	4	0.75	9.83	.000	.04	[.02, .06]
Error	73.36	965	0.08				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 16

Descriptive statistics for leadership/authority narcissism as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	1.36	0.30
Moderate Achievers	1.33	0.28
Moral Civic Explorers	1.25	0.27
Moral Nationals	1.24	0.26
Civic Nationals	1.43	0.26

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Grandiose/Exhibitionism Subscale of Narcissism Measure

Analysis of the grandiose exhibitionism subscale of the narcissism (NGE) measure revealed significant effects of profile membership such that Civic Nationals ($M = 1.37$, $SD = 0.29$) scored significantly higher compared to High Achievers ($M = 1.21$, $SD = 0.30$), Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 1.15$, $SD = 0.26$), and Moral Nationals ($M = 1.16$, $SD = 0.27$). Moderate Achievers scored higher in NGE compared to Moral Civic Explorers and Moral Nationals.

Table 17

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile on the grandiose/exhibitionism narcissism subscale

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	147.02	1	147.02	1641.43	.000		
Profile	4.13	4	1.03	11.53	.000	.05	[.02, .07]
Error	86.43	965	0.09				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 18

Descriptive statistics for grandiose/exhibitionism narcissism as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	1.21	0.30
Moderate Achievers	1.28	0.33
Moral Civic Explorers	1.15	0.26
Moral Nationals	1.16	0.27
Civic Nationals	1.37	0.29

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Entitlement/Exploitative Subscale of Narcissism Measure

One-way ANOVA analysis of the entitlement/exploitative subscale of narcissism (NEE) revealed that Civic Nationals ($M = 1.42$, $SD = 0.33$) scored significantly higher on NEE compared to all other profiles (see Table 19 below). No other differences were found between profiles.

Table 19

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile on the entitlement/exploitative narcissism subscale.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	145.60	1	145.60	1806.21	.000		
Profile	2.70	4	0.68	8.37	.000	.03	[.01, .05]
Error	77.79	965	0.08				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 20

Descriptive statistics for entitlement/exploitative narcissism as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	1.21	0.28
Moderate Achievers	1.25	0.29
Moral Civic Explorers	1.22	0.26
Moral Nationals	1.20	0.26
Civic Nationals	1.42	0.33

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Total Overall Narcissism

Overall total narcissism (NTOT) was significantly different across profiles such that Civic Nationals ($M = 1.42$, $SD = 0.33$) scored higher on NTOT compared to all other groups (see Table 21 below). High Achievers ($M = 20.49$, $SD = 3.83$) scored higher compared to Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 18.99$, $SD = 2.90$) and Moral Nationals ($M = 19.15$, $SD = 3.20$). Moderate Achievers ($M = 20.56$, $SD = 3.63$) scored higher compared to Moral Nationals ($M = 19.15$, $SD = 3.20$).

Table 21

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile membership on overall total narcissism.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$^{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	41984.01	1	41984.01	3536.79	.000		
Profile	821.68	4	205.42	17.30	.000	.07	[.04, .09]
Error	11455.18	965	11.87				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 22

Descriptive statistics for overall total narcissism as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	20.49	3.83
Moderate Achievers	20.56	3.63
Moral Civic Explorers	18.99	2.90
Moral Nationals	19.15	3.20
Civic Nationals	22.45	3.30

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

GEM Profiles in Relation to Altruism

Effect of Profile Membership on Altruism

There was a significant effect of profile membership on altruism scores. High Achievers ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 0.63$) scored higher compared to all other profiles (see Table 23 below). Moderate Achievers ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 0.59$) scored higher compared to Moral Nationals ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 0.75$) and Civic Nationals ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 0\ .84$), and Moral Nationals scored higher compared to Civic Nationals.

Table 23

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile membership on altruism

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	1706.25	1	1706.25	3935.20	.000		
Profile	66.33	4	16.58	38.24	.000	.14	[.10, .17]
Error	418.41	965	0.43				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 24

Descriptive statistics for altruism as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	4.13	0.63
Moderate Achievers	3.83	0.59
Moral Civic Explorers	3.72	0.66
Moral Nationals	3.41	0.75
Civic Nationals	3.10	0.84

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

GEM Profiles in Relation to Political Ideology

Effect of Profile Membership on Social Justice Political Ideologies

Political ideologies pertaining to social justice (PSJ) varied significantly across latent profiles. Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 0.99$) scored more liberal on social justice items compared to Moderate Achievers ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.00$), Moral Nationals ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.06$), and Civic Nationals ($M = 4.18$, $SD = 0.72$).

Table 25

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile membership on social justice political ideologies.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	1497.62	1	1497.62	1445.71	.000		
Profile	20.48	4	5.12	4.94	.001	.02	[.01, .03]
Error	999.65	965	1.04				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 26

Descriptive statistics for social justice political ideology as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	3.87	1.22
Moderate Achievers	4.03	1.00
Moral Civic Explorers	3.65	0.99
Moral Nationals	4.00	1.06
Civic Nationals	4.18	0.72

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Political Ideology Core Issues

Profiles differed significantly on items pertaining to political ideology core issues (PCI). High Achievers ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 1.12$) scored more conservative compared to Moderate Achievers ($M = 4.38$, $SD = 1.02$) in core issues, but more liberal compared to Moral Nationals ($M = 4.32$, $SD = 1.15$) and Civic Nationals ($M = 5.22$, $SD = 0.67$). Moderate Achievers were more conservative on core issues compared to Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.05$). Civic Nationals scored more conservative compared to Moderate Achievers and Moral Nationals. Moral Nationals and Civic Nationals scored more conservative on core issues

compared to Moral Civic Explorers.

Table 27

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile membership on core issues political ideologies.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	partial η^2	partial η^2 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	1563.05	1	1563.05	1440.86	.000		
Profile	95.03	4	23.76	21.90	.000	.08	[.05, .11]
Error	1046.83	965	1.08				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 28

Descriptive statistics for core issues political ideologies as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	3.95	1.12
Moderate Achievers	4.38	1.02
Moral Civic Explorers	3.89	1.05
Moral Nationals	4.32	1.15
Civic Nationals	5.22	0.67

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Political Ideology Social Issues

Significant differences emerged across profiles for political ideology social issues (PSI). High Achievers ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.20$) scored more conservative on social issues compared to Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.06$). Civic Nationals scored more conservative on PSI items compared to High Achievers, Moderate Achievers ($M = 4.61$, $SD = 1.07$), and Moral Nationals ($M = 4.40$, $SD = 1.11$). Moderate Achievers scored more conservative compared to Moral Civic Explorers.

Table 29

Fixed-Effects ANOVA of GEM profile membership on social issues political ideologies.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	2018.52	1	2018.52	1759.13	.000		
Profile	58.64	4	14.66	12.78	.000	.05	[.03, .07]
Error	1107.29	965	1.15				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 30

Descriptive statistics for social issues political ideologies as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	4.49	1.20
Moderate Achievers	4.61	1.07
Moral Civic Explorers	4.15	1.06
Moral Nationals	4.40	1.11
Civic Nationals	5.22	0.77

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Neo-Conservative Political Ideologies

Neo-conservative political ideologies (PNC) differed significantly across profiles. Those in the High Achievers profile ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 1.69$) scored significantly higher on neo-conservative ideologies compared to Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 1.10$). Civic Nationals ($M = 3.98$, $SD = 1.00$) scored higher compared to High Achievers, Moral Civic Explorers, and Moral Nationals ($M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.18$). Moderate Achievers ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.34$) scored higher on PNC compared to Moral Nationals and Civic Nationals.

Table 31

Fixed-effects ANOVA of GEM profile membership on neo-conservative political ideologies.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	1097.27	1	1097.27	650.71	.000		
Profile	104.42	4	26.11	15.48	.000	.06	[.04, .08]
Error	1627.25	965	1.69				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 32

Descriptive statistics for neo-conservative political ideologies as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	3.31	1.69
Moderate Achievers	3.51	1.34
Moral Civic Explorers	2.78	1.10
Moral Nationals	3.03	1.18
Civic Nationals	3.98	1.00

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Effect of Profile Membership on Total Political Ideologies

Overall total political ideologies (PTOT) differed across profiles such that Civic Nationals ($M = 4.78, SD = 0.47$) scored significantly more conservative overall compared to all other profiles (see Table 34 below). Both Moderate Achievers ($M = 4.33, SD = 0.84$) and Moral Nationals ($M = 4.23, SD = 0.91$) scored more conservative overall compared to Moral Civic Explorers ($M = 3.91, SD = 0.85$).

Table 33

Fixed-Effects ANOVA of GEM profile membership on overall total political ideologies.

Predictor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	*p*	$_{partial}\eta^2$	$_{partial}\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	1693.97	1	1693.97	2354.35	.000		
Profile	40.72	4	10.18	14.15	.000	.06	[.03, .08]
Error	694.33	965	0.72				

Note. LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial η^2 confidence interval, respectively.

Table 34

Descriptive statistics for overall total political ideologies as a function of profile.

Class	*M*	*SD*
High Achievers	4.12	0.96
Moderate Achievers	4.33	0.84
Moral Civic Explorers	3.91	0.85
Moral Nationals	4.23	0.91
Civic Nationals	4.78	0.47

Note. M and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION

Profiles varied the most across civic identity measures, suggesting this identity may be an important (and relatively understudied) influence on self-concept and how we view ourselves in relation to society. American and Ethnic identities were the most homogenous across profiles, likely due to the predominantly White sample. All profiles scored high in moral internalization except Civic Nationals. Only High Achievers and Moderate Achievers scored high on moral symbolization.

Higher internalization of identity with community (measured through civic identity) and commitment to American identity were associated with profiles that also scored high on moral symbolization. This may suggest that increased internalization of a community-based identity may lead an individual to desire more to be assessed by others as a moral individual. Moral internalization was consistently higher compared to moral symbolization for all profiles except Civic Nationals.

Research Question 1: Existence of Latent Profiles Across GEM Domains

Latent profile analysis revealed a five-profile model fit the geopolitical, ethnic, and moral identity data well. These five GEM profiles correlated to measures that would be expected given their dominant domains of identity, providing support that these latent profiles were derived from a model that fits the data in a substantive way. Significant differences were found across measures of ego identity, indicating that levels of exploration and commitment toward an overall sense of individual identity are linked in meaningful ways to patterns of identity across other domains. Differential relationships between identity profiles and narcissism contribute to the current literature on narcissism in emerging adulthood by providing a more fine-grained look at how identity processes may be related to increased narcissism, and how different narcissism subscales, and ultimately different narcissism

attitudes and outcomes, are related to identity in differing ways. Overall the latent profile analysis results support the first (H1) hypothesis that different latent profiles exist within the GEM identity data.

Research Question 2: GEM Profiles in Relation to Ego Identity Status Measures

H2a: Profiles characterized by higher moral identity will score higher on exploration and rumination measures.

There were significant differences for all ego identity measures across profiles. In partial support of hypothesis 2a, more overall identity exploration was associated with higher likelihood of membership in a profile with high moral identity, though rumination was not associated with profiles having higher moral identity

H2b: Profiles with higher global identities will score higher on rumination and lower on commitment measures.

Moral Civic Explorers are characterized by high exploration scores in civic identity and high moral identity scores. This group scored lower on exploration measures, and higher on rumination, supporting this hypothesis.

Ego Identity Status Measures in General

Exploration in depth. Exploration in depth was overall highest for both High and Moderate Achievers profiles. The High Achievers profile has the highest scores overall across all GEM identity measures and suggests higher exploration in depth potentially leads to greater levels of identity commitment, consistent with previous research. Civic Nationals were the lowest scoring profile for exploration in depth.

Exploration in breadth. Again, High Achievers scored the highest on this measure, followed closely by Moral Civic Explorers, who scored high on exploration measures of GEM

identities but low on commitment. Civic Nationals scored low both on exploration in breadth and exploration in depth.

Ruminative exploration. This measure of exploration is associated with higher levels of anxiety and distress related to identity moratorium. Moral Civic Explorers and Civic Nationals scored the highest on ruminative exploration. Along with the high exploration in breadth and low exploration in depth scores for Moral Civic Explorers, a high ruminative exploration score suggests this profile group has a varied or unfocused exploration strategy to identity development, consistent with prolonged moratorium. Ruminative exploration was lowest for Moral Nationals.

Commitment making. Both High and Moderate Achievers scored highest on commitment making. Moral Nationals had moderately high scores on this measure. Civic Nationals scored the lowest in commitment making.

Identification with commitment. Since commitment and exploration characterize High and Moderate Achievement, it is not surprising that these two profiles score higher for commitment making as well. Civic Nationals scored the lowest on this measure.

Summary of ego identity scales. Overall, profiles characterized by higher achievement in GEM identities scored high on both exploration (except ruminative exploration) and commitment. This suggests that the latent profiles for GEM identities are consistent with ego identity indices of exploration and commitment. Consistency across these two groups of identities may demonstrate further support for the existence of the latent profiles identified in this study.

Research Question 3: GEM Profiles in Relation to Narcissism

H3a: Profiles with lower social identities (civic, American, global, and ethnic) will score higher on measures of narcissism.

Thi

s hypothesis was not supported by the data. The profiles that tended to score lower on social identities, scored higher on moral identities. Moral Civic Explorers and Moral Nationals had the lowest scores of narcissism overall. Further research is needed to understand the interaction between moral identity and social identities. Moral identity could be a protective factor of negative effects when lacking identification with social groups. Alternatively, social group membership and identification with a social group may provide a framework for moral attitudes that is protective against traits such as narcissism in a similar fashion to moral identity.

H3b: Profiles with higher global identity will be associated with higher narcissism scores.

This hypothesis was partially supported. Moderate and High Achievers scored high on the global identity measure and moderately high on the authority/leadership subscale of narcissism. However, Moral Civic Explorers also scored high on global identity but scored the lowest on all subscales of narcissism. Considering the Moral Nationals profiles scored similarly low on overall narcissism as the Moral Civic Explorers, this finding may further support the idea that moral identity may be protective against narcissism. Civic Nationals scored the highest on overall narcissism, so it is unlikely that high civic identity or high national identity were protective factors against narcissism for Moral Nationals and Moral Civic Explorers. An alternative interpretation is that moral identity is unrelated to narcissism, but that a sense of identity achievement overall is associated with higher levels of self-esteem, a trait attributed to higher leadership/authority narcissism.

Narcissism Subscales in General

Leadership/authority narcissism. This subscale of narcissism is considered to represent an adaptive version of narcissism, focusing on skills valued by society such as leadership,

assertiveness, and confidence. Civic Nationals scored the highest on this measure of narcissism (and all other narcissism measures). This was the only subscale of narcissism that High Achievers scored moderately high on, followed by Moderate Achievers. Moral Civic Explorers and Moral Nationals scored the lowest on leadership/authority narcissism and on all other measures of narcissism.

Grandiose/exhibitionism. Civic Nationals scored the highest on this measure, followed by Moderate Achievers and then High Achievers, with Moral Nationals and Moral Civic Explorers scoring the lowest.

Entitlement/exploitation. Once again, Civic Nationals scored the highest on this measure of narcissism. Additionally, Civic Nationals scored the lowest on measures of moral identity, which may be related to a lack of intrinsic motivation to avoiding the exploitation of others and a more extreme prioritization of one's own desires as with entitlement. All other profiles scored equally low on this measure of narcissism.

Overall narcissism. Overall, Civic Nationals outrank all other profiles on narcissism subscales and total narcissism. Moderate and High Achievers scored moderately on measures of narcissism, with High Achievers more likely to score high on the leadership/authority subscale, which is theorized to be an adaptive form of narcissism. Concerns over the increase in population levels of reported narcissism may be driven by two paths; higher identity achievement through greater opportunities for and cultural expectations of mortarium, and through foreclosed civic and national identities when moral identity is not included in the profiles as a dominant identity.

Research Question 4: GEM Profiles in Relation to Altruism

H4a: High global identity profiles will be associated with higher altruism.

The highest scoring profiles in altruism were High Achievers, Moderate Achievers, and Moral Civic Explorers. These were also the three profiles characterized in part by higher global identity, providing support for this hypothesis.

H4b: Higher civic identity profiles will be associated with higher altruism.

This hypothesis was not fully supported by the data. Moral Civic Explorers scored high on altruism and are partially characterized by high civic identity; however, the Civic Nationals profile was the most strongly characterized by high civic identity (exploration specifically, but low on civic internalization). Civic identity may be related to higher altruism, but only when moral identity is also internally prioritized.

Research Question 5: GEM Profiles in Relation to Political Ideologies

H5a: High national identity profiles will be associated with more conservative ideologies.

This hypothesis is supported by the data in that profiles including higher national identities (e.g., Civic Nationals and Moral Nationals) scored more conservatively or moderately conservatively (respectively) on measures of political ideology.

H5b: High global identity profiles will be associated with more liberal ideologies.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data. The two profiles including the highest scores in global identities are High and Moderate Achievers. High Achievers were somewhat liberal overall, but moderate on social issues and neo-conservative values. Moderate Achievers were more conservative across measures.

Political Ideologies in General

Civic Nationals consistently scored the most conservative on all measures (social justice, core issues, social issues, neo-conservative issues, and overall political ideology). This is consistent with their low exploration scores, as individuals in a more foreclosed status are more

likely to enjoy conformity and authoritarianism, which have been associated with more right-wing conservative political ideologies (Bennion & Adams, 1986; Cramer, 2000; Marcia, 1966).

Moderate and High Achievers were somewhat moderate politically, with High Achievers being slightly more liberal compared to Moderate Achievers, who were more conservative on social justice issues, core issues, and social issues, but more liberal on neo-conservative values. Decision making may take different forms for Achievers profiles, who are more likely to make decisions in a more rational and systemic way (Bluestein, Furner, & Phillips, 1990). This differential decision-making process may lead to less empathetic or compassionate responses to political ideology questions.

Moral identity seemed to be a driver of more liberal political ideology, as Moral Civic Explorers were consistently the most liberal profile, and Moral Nationals scoring more liberal on most measures of ideology.

Discussion

Limitations

Primary limitations of this study are centered around the generalizability of these findings. The sample was recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk program, which hosts workers who typically match national population demographics for the 18 to 24 age range, and are similar for the 25-34 age range (Levay, Freese, & Druckman, 2016). Indeed, the sample for this study mirrors general U.S. demographic data. This, however, does not allow for robust comparison of ethnic minority groups, who may contribute to overall higher levels of ethnic identity (consistent with previous literature). Different structured groups may emerge from the latent profile analysis with samples stratified for cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

Another limitation is the selection of identity domains included in this study. While identity domains were selected to represent those that are more strongly linked to social and civic

outcomes measured in this study, there are many more domains of identity that could have been included. These domains include gender identity, sexual identity, vocational identity, and religious identity to name just a few. Some identities were excluded intentionally from this study (e.g., moral identity was included instead of religious identity) as the literature suggested they would be better indicators of civic attitudes compared to other similar domains. However, the nature of identity domain influence should be studied within the context of other identity domains. Therefore, the exclusion of some domains over stronger indicators is a limitation in this research.

Future Directions

Future studies may wish to investigate geopolitical, ethnic, and moral identity profiles in more diverse samples. Ethnic identity scores were particularly homogenous for this sample, and that is likely due to the predominantly (approximately 71% of the sample), though the demographic figures closely mirror the national statistics for the U.S.

Another direction this research may take includes investigating how dynamic or stable the GEM identity profiles are over short periods of time (e.g., priming in a laboratory setting) and across development, and under what circumstances are identity profiles more or less stable. Longitudinal studies should investigate how such profiles change across developmental stages, and if certain identity domains are more or less influential on civic attitudes and behaviors across the life span.

Further research can be done to understand directionality more thoroughly, through priming identities and measuring any changes to social and political outcome measures, as well as changes to overall fit for profiles of identity domains. Another question worth investigation is the nature of identities as integrated constructs. Do identities work in tandem as a cooperative

unit, or as competing units? Future studies may wish to investigate how identity domains may be prioritized individually and across contexts.

Theoretical Implications

The importance of geopolitical identities. This work contributes further to the study of various geopolitical identities such as civic identity (as a representation of local community identity), national American identity, and identification with all humans globally. Very few studies have sought to integrate these interconnected identities toward understanding how they influence behavior and attitudes. Given the global nature of our societies today, understanding how geopolitical identities intersect will likely increase in importance in the future. This study provides an idea of how such profiles are prioritized within the identified latent profiles, and what sociopolitical outcomes such profiles may have.

Integration of identities within profiles. Overall, prioritization, or the dominance of an identity within a profile was more of an indicator of outcome variables than the mean score of that identity alone. For example, national identity was related to more conservative political ideologies when it was one of the more dominant identities within a profile, even if that particular profile (i.e., Civic Nationals) scored the lowest on national identity overall. Civic Nationals scored low on most measures, but included Civic and National identities among the most dominant within the profile. This provides further theoretical foundations for more research on how different identity domains interact. A group could score low compared to average on a measure of identity, but if all other measures are even lower, that still may be a dominant influence in the thoughts and behaviors of that individual.

Narcissism and identity profiles. This study provides further insight into the potential relationships between identity development, emerging adulthood and narcissism. Two perspectives exist in an ongoing debate surrounding the nature of narcissism in emerging

adulthood and whether such narcissism is entirely self-focused (i.e., "generation me"), or if the high self-valuations are beneficial to others within the generational group as well (i.e., "generation me") and thus may be indicators of more adaptive narcissism compared to maladaptive narcissism (Arnett, 2013; Twenge, 2009; Twenge, Campbell, & Carter, 2014; Twenge & Kasser, 2013).

Because identity profiles were differentially related to subscales of narcissism, it is reasonable to conclude that different aspects of narcissism (adaptive vs. maladaptive) are associated with different identity experiences in emerging adulthood. In particular, the subscale of leadership/authority narcissism was related to higher overall identity achievement across GEM identity measures. According to Côté & Levine (2014), undergoing the task of identity exploration (necessary for achievement) may promote individualization and increased agency. Agency is often associated with assertiveness and authority (e.g., Abele, 2016). Therefore, higher levels of narcissism among emerging adults in the U.S. may be measuring assertiveness and leadership skills, which are valued in many aspects of our society, and therefore indicate greater adaptivity to environmental demands.

On the other hand, Civic Nationals scored higher on all measures of narcissism, including maladaptive subscales of grandiose/exhibitionism and entitlement/exploitation. This profile was the smallest proportion of the sample (7%) compared to all other profiles. However, in addition to Civic Nationals, adding High Achievers (10%) and Moderate Achievers (48%) to the group, who both scored moderately high on the leadership/authority, creates a majority of the sample that scored at least moderately high in narcissism. This may explain differential findings in narcissism levels in emerging adults and contradictory adaptive and maladaptive outcomes. Varied outcomes of narcissism across identity profiles may demonstrate two different processes through which narcissism is increased in emerging adults: a higher moratorium identity profile

leading to more leadership and assertiveness traits, and a higher nationalistic foreclosed identity profile leading to higher self-valuations and perhaps lower moral identity and lower valuations of others (especially outgroup members).

National and moral identity. In an American context, higher national identity is an uncertain predictor of ideologies. Some ideals of "Americanness" include equality and independence, while others focus on more religious ideals, and these differing concepts are associated with opposing outcomes in political and social beliefs (Citrin et al., 1990; Citrin et al., 2000). This study demonstrates that while two groups may be high in national identity, the other dominant identities within that group or individual may dictate the ways in which national identity influences ideology. High national identity without the inclusion of relatively high moral identity lead to consistently conservative ideologies in Civic Nationals, while higher moral identity along with high national identity lead to Moral Nationals scoring significantly more liberal than Civic Nationals on ideological measures.

Further theoretical implications of these findings include an increased understanding of how identity domains may be integrated and how these influence attitudes and behaviors in relating self and society. Practical applications of these findings may include better informed strategies toward conflict resolution, public education on social issues, and political campaigns.

Conclusion

Profiles differed significantly across all outcome measures, indicating that the latent profiles uncovered in this study are useful in understanding the social and political lives of emerging adults in the United States. The results of this study suggest that emerging adults' levels of identity across differing domains exist in identifiable latent patterns, and that these patterns may help shape how individuals view themselves in relation to society through

influencing narcissistic attitudes and behaviors, altruistic attitudes and behaviors, and political ideologies impacting themselves and others locally, nationally, and globally.

Five distinct latent profiles emerged; labeled for dominant identity domains, they include High Achievers, Moderate Achievers, Moral Civic Explorers, Moral Nationals, and Civic Nationals. These profiles were significantly differentiated across measures of ego identity status (exploration in breadth, exploration in depth, ruminative exploration, commitment making, and identification with commitment) and across all outcome measures of narcissism, altruism, and political ideologies, suggesting that membership in such profiles is related to social and civic attitudes and behaviors.

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APPENDIX A.

Demographics Questionnaire

1. What year were you born? _____
2. Are you:
    a. Female
    b. Male
    c. Other
    d. Do not wish to disclose
3. What kind of area were you raised in?
    a. Rural
    b. Small town
    c. Suburban
    d. Urban
    e. Other _____
4. What is your combined annual household income? _____
5. What was your parents' combined annual household income? _____
6. Which of the following best applies to you?
    a. Married
    b. Single, no current partner
    c. Single, live with partner
    d. Single, live separately from partner
    e. Separated
    f. Divorced
    g. Widowed
    h. Other _____
7. How many children under the age of 18 are currently living with you> _____
8. What is the highest level of education you have achieved?
    a. Did not graduate high school
    b. High school diploma
    c. Associate's degree or trade school
    d. Bachelor's degree
    e. Master's degree
    f. Ph.D./M.D./D.D.S.
9. What is the highest level of education achieved by either of your parents?
    a. Did not graduate high school
    b. High school diploma
    c. Associate's degree or trade school
    d. Bachelor's degree
    e. Master's degree
    f. Ph.D./M.D./D.D.S.

APPENDIX B.

Dimensions of Identity Development Scale

Please rate how much you Agree or Disagree with each of the following statements where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strong Agree.

Commitment making

1. I've decided on the direction I want to follow in life
2. I know what I want to do with my future
3. I have a clear view on my future
4. I have made a choice concerning some of my plans for the future
5. I know what I want to achieve in my life

Identification with commitment

6. My plans for the future offer me a sense of security
7. Future plans give me self-confidence
8. Because of the path of life I have mapped out, I feel certain about myself
9. I sense that the direction I want to take in life with really suit me
10. I value my plans for the future very much

Exploration in breadth

11. I think about the direction I want to take in my life
12. I think a lot about how I see my future
13. I try to figure out regularly which lifestyle would suit me
14. I think about what to do with my life
15. I try to find out which lifestyle would be good for me

Exploration in depth

16. I think about the future plans I have made
17. I talk regularly with other people about the plans for the future I have made
18. I figure out for myself if the goals I put forward in life really suit me
19. I try to find out regularly what other people think about the specific direction I want to take in my life
20. I think a lot about the future plans I strive for

Ruminative exploration

21. I keep looking for the direction I want to take in my life
22. I am doubtful about what I really want to achieve in life
23. I keep wondering which direction my life has to take
24. I worry about what I want to do with my future
25. It is hard to stop thinking about the direction I want to follow in life

APPENDIX C.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Hispanic, Black, Asian-American, Native American, Irish-American, and White. These questions are about your ethnicity and your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in the following. In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be _____.

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.
(4) Strongly Agree; (3) Agree; (2) Disagree; (1) Strongly Disagree

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
5. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
6. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
7. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
8. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
9. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.
10. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

13. My ethnicity is
    a. Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
    b. Black or African American
    c. Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
    d. White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
    e. American Indian/Native American
    f. Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
    g. Other (write in): _____

14. My father's ethnicity is (use letters above)
15. My mother's ethnicity is (use letters above)

APPENDIX D.

Moral Identity Scale

Listed alphabetically below are some characteristics that might describe a person:

Caring, Compassionate, Fair, Friendly, Generous, Helpful, Hardworking, Honest, Kind

The person with these characteristics could be you or it could be someone else. For a moment, *visualize in your mind the kind of person who has these characteristics*. Imagine how that person would think, feel, and act. When you have a clear image of what this person would be like, answer the following questions using the scale below:

(5) Strongly Agree; (4) Agree; (3) Neither Agree nor Disagree; (2) Disagree; (1) Strongly Disagree

1. It would make me feel good to be a person who has these characteristics.
2. Being someone who has these characteristics is an important part of who I am.
3. I often wear clothes that identify me as having these characteristics.
4. I would be ashamed to be a person who has these characteristics.
5. The types of things I do in my spare time (e.g., hobbies) clearly identify me as having these characteristics.
6. The kinds of books and magazines that I read, shows I watch, and websites I visit identify me as having these characteristics.
7. Having these characteristics is not really important to me.
8. The fact that I have these characteristics is communicated to other by my membership in certain organizations.
9. I am actively involved in activities that communicate to others that I have these characteristics.
10. I strongly desire to have these characteristics.

APPENDIX E.

Civic Identity

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with each statement using the scale below:

(5) Strongly Agree; (4) Agree; (3) Neither Agree nor Disagree; (2) Disagree; (1) Strongly Disagree

1. I have gone through a period of questioning what it means to be to be an active citizen of my community.
2. I have reflected on how I want to act or behave in my role as a citizen of my community.
3. I have spent time trying to figure out what it means to me to be an involved member of my community.
4. I have decided what is best for me in terms of being involved in my community.
5. I am sure about how I want to be involved in my community.
6. I have made up my mind about what my responsibilities are as a member of my community.
7. My involvement in my community is an important part of my identity.
8. Being an active citizen of my community is a critical part of my sense of self.
9. When I think about who I am as a person, being an involved member of my community is an important part.

APPENDIX F.

American Identity Measure

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.
(4) Strongly Agree; (3) Agree; (2) Disagree; (1) Strongly Disagree

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about the United States, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly Americans.
3. I have a clear sense the United States and what being an American means for me.
4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by being an American.
5. I am happy that I am an American.
6. I have a strong sense of belonging to the United States.
7. I understand pretty well what being an American means to me.
8. In order to learn more about being American, I have often talked to other people about the United States.
9. I have a lot of pride in the United States.
10. I participate in cultural practices of the United States, such as special food, music, or customs.
11. I feel a strong attachment towards the United States.
12. I feel good about being American.

APPENDIX G.

Identification with All Humanity Scale

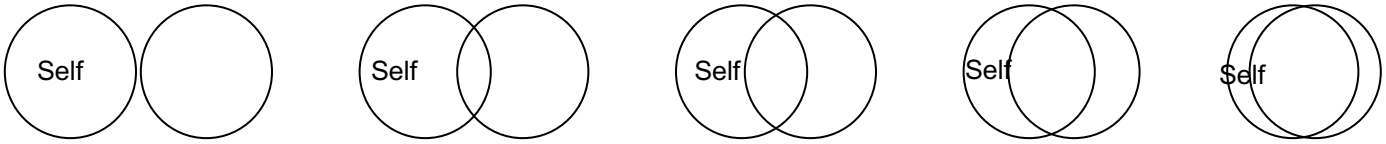
1. How close do you feel to each of the following groups?
   (1) not at all close; (2) not very close; (3) just a little or somewhat close; (4) pretty close; (5) very close
   a. People in my community
   b. Americans
   c. People all over the world
2. How often do you use the word "we" to refer to the following groups of people?
   (1) almost never; (2) rarely; (3) occasionally; (4) often; (5) very often
   a. People in my community
   b. Americans
   c. People all over the world
3. How much would you say you have in common with the following groups?
   (1) almost nothing in common; (2) little in common; (3) some in common; (4) quite a bit in common; (5) very much in common
   a. People in my community
   b. Americans
   c. People all over the world

Please answer the following questions using the scale below: Not at all; (2) Just a little; (3) Somewhat; (4) Quite a bit; (5) Very much

4. Sometimes people think of those who are not a part of their immediate family as "family." To what degree do you think of the following groups of people as "family"?
   a. People in my community
   b. Americans
   c. All humans everywhere
5. How much do you identify with (that is, feel a part of, feel love toward, have concern for) each of the following?
   a. People in my community
   b. Americans
   c. All humans everywhere
6. How much would you say you care (feel upset, want to help) when bad things happen to
   a. People in my community
   b. Americans
   c. People anywhere in the world
7. How much do you want to be:
   a. a responsible citizen of your community
   b. a responsible American citizen
   c. a responsible citizen of the world
8. How much do you believe in:
   a. being loyal to my community
   b. being loyal to America
   c. being loyal to all mankind

9. Please mark the letter for the pair of circles that best describes your relationship with each group

a. People in my community
b. Americans
c. People all over the world



A

10. When they are in need, how much do you want to help:

a. People in my community
b. Americans
c. People all over the world

APPENDIX H.

Narcissism Personality Inventory (NPI-13)

Read each pair of statements and then choose the one that is closer to your own feelings and beliefs.

1. __ I know that I am good because everybody keeps telling me so.
   __ When people compliment me, I sometimes get embarrassed.
2. __ I like to be the center of attention.
   __ I prefer to blend in with the crowd.
3. __ I am no better or worse than most people.
   __ I think I am a special person.
4. __ I don't mind following orders.
   __ I like having authority over other people.
5. __ I find it easy to manipulate people.
   __ I don't like it when I find myself manipulating people.
6. __ I insist on getting the respect that is due me.
   __ I usually get the respect I deserve.
7. __ I try not to show off.
   __ I am apt to show off if I get a chance.
8. __ Sometimes I am not sure of what I am doing.
   __ I always know what I am doing.
9. __ Everybody likes to hear my stories.
   __ Sometimes I tell good stories.
10. __ I expect a great deal from other people.
    __ I like to do things for other people.
11. __ It makes me uncomfortable to be the center of attention.
    __ I really like to be the center of attention.
12. __ Being an authority doesn't mean that much to me.
    __ People always seem to recognize my authority.
13. __ I am going to be a great person.
    __ I hope I am going to be successful.

APPENDIX I.

Self-Report Altruism Scale

Please rate how likely you would be (or have been) to participate in the following activities using the scale below:

(5) Very likely; (4) Likely; (3) Occasionally; (2) Rarely; (1) Very rarely

1. I would help a stranger push their car out of traffic if it were broken down.
2. I would give directions to a stranger.
3. I would make change for a stranger.
4. I would give money to a charity.
5. I would give money to a stranger who needed it (or asked me for it)
6. I would donate goods or clothes to a charity
7. I would volunteer work for a charity
8. I would donate blood
9. I would help carry a stranger's belongings.
10. I would delay an elevator or hold the door open for a stranger.
11. I would allow someone to go ahead of me in a line.
12. I would give a stranger a lift in my car.
13. I would point out a clerk's error (in a bank, at the supermarket) in undercharging me for an item.
14. I would let a neighbor, whom I didn't know too well, borrow an item of some value to me (a dish, tools).
15. I would buy 'charity' Christmas cards deliberately because I knew it was a good cause.
16. I would help a classmate who I did not know that well with a homework assignment when my knowledge was greater than his or hers.
17. I would voluntarily looked after a neighbor's pets or children without being paid for it.
18. I would help a disabled or elderly stranger across the street.
19. I would offer my seat on a bus or train to a stranger who was standing.
20. I would help an acquaintance to move into a new home.

APPENDIX J.

International 40-Item Ideology Scale

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

(1) Very strongly disagree; (2) Strongly disagree; (3) Moderately disagree; (4) Slightly disagree; (5) Neither agree nor disagree; (6) Slightly agree; (7) Moderately agree; (8) Strongly agree; (9) Very strongly agree

1. A well-funded and equipped military is essential to our nation's prosperity.
2. Tax dollars should be spent to provide welfare for those who need it.
3. Businesses should be allowed to develop as they please, free from government regulation and interference.
4. There is no reason people need to own hand guns in a civilized society.
5. The police already have all the necessary powers they need in order to effectively fight crime.
6. It is not the government's job to provide housing for people who cannot afford it.
7. The government should focus on tackling the root causes of crime (unemployment, addiction, mental health issues, etc.) instead of building prisons.
8. The government should strongly regulate energy development to make sure it is not harming the environment.
9. The government spends too much money trying to protect the rights of American Indians, First Nations or Native peoples.
10. The government should make it harder for immigrants to enter the United States.
11. Students, not the government, should be paying for post-secondary education.
12. The government must uphold the law and civil rights, even when fighting terror.
13. The United States' government money should be spent on providing international aid to poorer countries.
14. The United States' obligations to its own citizens are more important than its obligations to the international community.
15. Free trade and globalization should be used purely as a tool for gaining an economic advantage, and not as a way to promote social agendas.
16. Marijuana should be legalized.
17. The government does not need to spend tax dollars promoting women's rights.
18. The government does not need to spend tax dollars promoting minorities' rights.
19. Spending money on anti-poverty programs is a waste of taxpayer dollars.
20. Same-sex marriage should be allowed.
21. Abortions should be available for women who want them.
22. Capital punishment should not be allowed in the United States.
23. Taxes should be higher in the United States, if they result in more government services.
24. Minimum wage should be increased, even if it results in price increases for some goods and services.
25. Sentences for crimes should be tougher.
26. The government should be able to violate peoples' civil rights if it makes it easier to fight crime and terrorism.
27. Government would be more effective if it were smaller and interfered less.

28. Taxpayer dollars should not go to funding the arts. If artists cannot make money selling their work, they should find another job.
29. It is important that tax dollars are used to subsidize public transit in order to make it affordable for those who use it.
30. Labor unions are not needed because they lead to strikes and higher costs for businesses.
31. The best way to deal with illegal drugs is to make sure that users don't harm themselves or others.
32. It is important for national culture to keep have a national broadcaster, publicly funded with taxpayer dollars.
33. Parents, not taxpayers, should be responsible for the costs of sending their children to childcare.
34. If someone has the money to do so, he or she should be able to pay for private healthcare that is quicker and better than what everyone else receives through the public system.
35. Given that people have to register their cars, they should also have to register their guns.
36. It is not worth protecting the environment if it is going to result in many lost jobs.
37. In order to protect the environment, it is necessary to have a carbon tax, even if it results in higher prices.
38. Everyone should be entitled to receive health care, whether or not they can afford it.
39. Building sewers, roads, and bridges is a waste of taxpayer dollars.
40. It is important that the government uses tax dollars to fund scientific research.

APPENDIX K.

Posterior probabilities of GEM profiles.

GEM Profile	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1 High Achievers	0.80	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11
2 Moderate Achievers	0.20	0.85	0.09	0.06	0.08	0.46
3 Moral Civic Explorers	0.00	0.04	0.83	0.06	0.00	0.16
4 Moral Nationals	0.00	0.03	0.08	0.87	0.03	0.20
5 Civic Nationals	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.89	0.07

APPENDIX L.

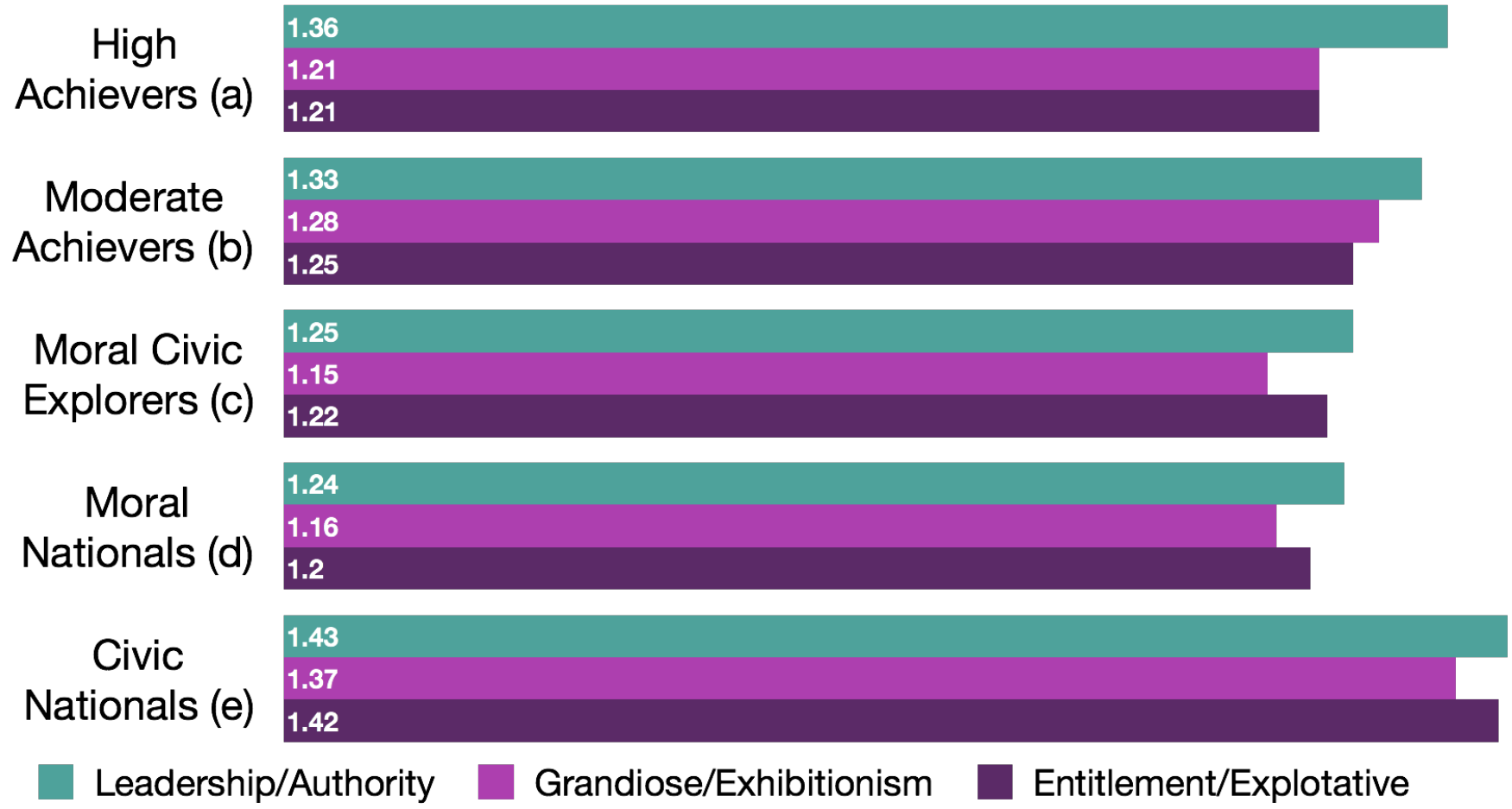
Correlations between GEM identity measures and outcomes.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1 Moral Identity Internalization	1.00																	
2 Moral Identity Symbolism	0.25[a]	1.00																
3 Civic Identity Exploration	0.19[a]	0.35[a]	1.00															
4 Civic Identity Commitment	0.14[a]	0.41[a]	0.35[a]	1.00														
5 Civic Identity Internalization	0.13[a]	0.55[a]	0.53[a]	0.55[a]	1.00													
6 American Identity Exploration	0.22[a]	0.37[a]	0.39[a]	0.33[a]	0.43[a]	1.00												
7 American Identity Commitment	0.21[a]	0.29[a]	0.10[a]	0.30[a]	0.28[a]	0.52[a]	1.00											
8 Global Identity	0.21[a]	0.39[a]	0.34[a]	0.25[a]	0.38[a]	0.31[a]	0.14[a]	1.00										
9 Ethnic Identity Search	0.09[b]	0.41[a]	0.32[a]	0.30[a]	0.42[a]	0.50[a]	0.29[a]	0.35[a]	1.00									
10 Ethnic Identity Commitment	0.16[a]	0.34[a]	0.16[a]	0.28[a]	0.31[a]	0.35[a]	0.51[a]	0.25[a]	0.69[a]	1.00								
11 Narcissism Leadership/Authority	-0.13[a]	0.10[b]	0.05	0.12[a]	0.14[a]	0.13[a]	0.09[c]	0.07[c]	0.18[a]	0.14[a]	1.00							
12 Narcissism Grandiose/Exhibitionism	-0.15[a]	0.11[a]	0.07[c]	0.07[c]	0.17[a]	0.11[a]	0.08	0.09[b]	0.14[a]	0.09[b]	0.48[a]	1.00						
13 Narcissism Entitlement/Exploitative	-0.25[a]	-0.07[c]	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.05	-0.10[b]	0.04	0.00	0.47[a]	0.35[a]	1.00					
14 Altruism	0.40[a]	0.40[a]	0.33[a]	0.29[a]	0.36[a]	0.35[a]	0.28[a]	0.51[a]	0.30[a]	0.28[a]	0.00	-0.01	-0.19[a]	1.00				
15 Social Justice Ideology	-0.12[a]	0.12[a]	-0.03	0.17[a]	0.07[c]	0.18[a]	0.39[a]	-0.12[a]	0.15[a]	0.24[a]	0.19[a]	0.14[a]	0.21[a]	-0.02	1.00			
16 Core Issues Ideology	-0.28[a]	0.07[c]	-0.12[a]	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.25[a]	-0.19[a]	0.05	0.09[b]	0.17[a]	0.12[a]	0.17[a]	-0.16[a]	0.64[a]	1.00		
17 Social Issues Ideology	-0.16[a]	0.19[a]	-0.08[c]	0.14[a]	0.11[a]	0.02	0.29[a]	-0.09[b]	0.15[a]	0.22[a]	0.18[a]	0.11[b]	0.11[a]	-0.09[b]	0.55[a]	0.68[a]	1.00	
18 Neo-Conservative Issues Ideology	-0.17[a]	0.25[a]	0.09[b]	0.19[a]	0.20[a]	0.18[a]	0.31[a]	0.11[a]	0.25[a]	0.24[a]	0.21[a]	0.19[a]	0.20[a]	0.09[b]	0.66[a]	0.60[a]	0.51[a]	1.00

Note. [a] = $p < .001$, [b] = $p < .01$, [c] = $p <. 05$

APPENDIX M.

Narcissism means by subscale and GEM profile.



Altruism means by GEM profile

Political Ideology means by subscale and GEM profile.